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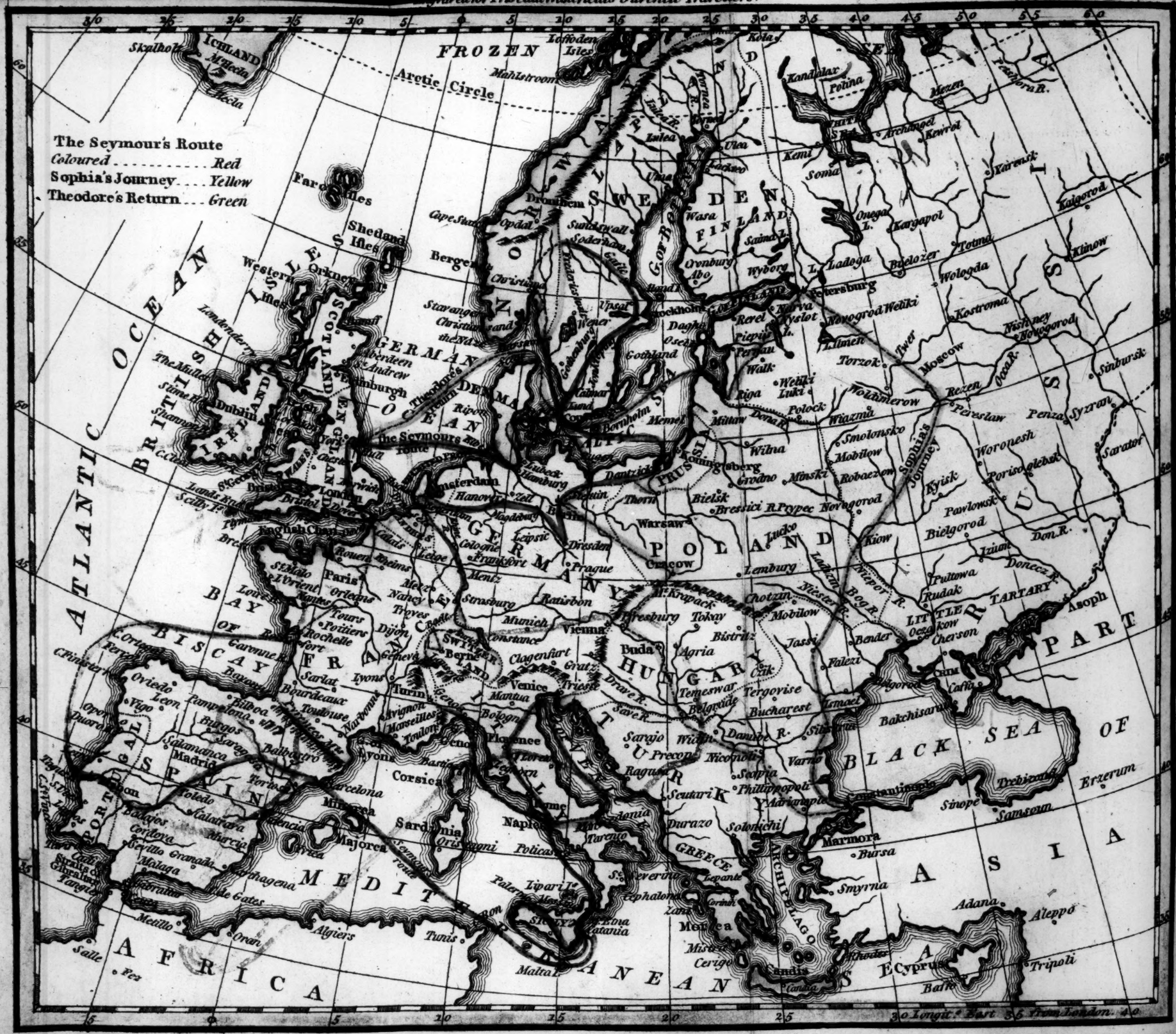

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Frances E. Lombard

THE

THREE KINGS;

CONTAINING

INCIDENTS

SINGULARLY AMUSING,

AS WELL AS

STRIKINGLY PROVIDENTIAL,

IN THE

LIVES

OF

GUSTAVUS VASA, KING OF SWEDEN;

CHARLES II. KING OF ENGLAND;

STANISLAUS II. KING OF POLAND.

BY THE REV. T. HAWEIS, L.L.B.

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Miss Rosina Blackby
July 22nd /44

PREFACE.

THE following Memoirs of thoſe royal perſonages, Guſtavus, Charles, and Staniſlaus, were drawn up many years ago, on peruſing their ſeveral hiſtories. The facts are ſo well atteſted, and ſo ſingular, that they deſerve attention; and the preſent appeared a favourable moment to draw ſome utility from what was originally a matter of amuſement, during a winter's day in the country.

The

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The times which have ſince ſucceeded were then neither foreſeen, nor imagined; and the awful ſcenes around us leave us in ſuſpenſe what the great Governor of all the earth deſigns, in his all-wiſe providence. To inculcate dependence upon him in every trying hour is the leading deſign of theſe Anecdotes.

As a lover of his country, the Author, highly prizing the Conſtitution we enjoy, cannot but cordially wiſh its preſervation and perpetuity. But he means not to enter on the field of politics, content with a glance at the lines of Providence.

London,
July 22, 1795.

ANECDOTES

OF

GUSTAVUS VASA,

KING OF SWEDEN.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is impoſſible to read Vertot's Revolution of Sweden, and not be affected with the ſtriking marks of divine interpoſition, evident in the preſervation, protection, conduct, and advancement of Guſtavus Vaſa to the throne of his anceſtors. To him Sweden was indebted not only for deliverance from the tyranny of the bloody Chriſtiern, but under his auſpices received the glorious light of the Reformation; whoſe bleſſings will, we truſt, deſcend to the lateſt poſterity, and be enduring as the ages of eternity.

CHAP. I.

BY the union of Calmar, the three northern kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were for ever to be governed by the ſame monarch. But the conditions of the union being quickly infringed by the tyrannic conduct of the monarchs who ſucceeded, the Swedes reſolved to detach themſelves from the confederacy, and elect, as before, a monarch of their own. This became a ſource of perpetual wars between Denmark and Sweden.

Sweden, divided in herſelf by the ambition of thoſe who aſpired to the ſovereignty, afforded a fair opportunity to the king of Denmark, to endeavour, by courting one party, to overthrow the other, and recover for himſelf and his poſterity the crown, which he claimed as his own.

In purſuit of this object, Chriſtiern the IId, king of Denmark, formed connexions with the clergy of Sweden, particularly with the archbiſhop of Upſal. They all zealouſly eſpouſed his cauſe, and wiſhed to ſee him

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ſeated on the throne. Suppoſing their party ſufficiently powerful to ſucceed in the attempt, this rebellious and proud prelate, who hoped, under the reign of Chriſtiern, to enjoy (as it had been promiſed him that he ſhould) the chief exerciſe of ſovereign power in Sweden, with aſſiſtance from Denmark, rebelled againſt Stenon, whom the eſtates of Sweden had elected as their adminiſtrator, ſubſtituting this name to that of king, which Eric Canutſon had formerly borne.

In quelling this rebellion, Guſtavus made his firſt appearance on the ſtage of glory. He was the ſon of Eric Vaſa, the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſenator of Sweden, and great nephew to king Canutſon; his father was governor of Halland, and himſelf grand ſtandard-bearer of the kingdom. He was in the prime of life, about ſix and twenty years of age: His ſpirit naturally elevated and reſolute; his heart fired with a noble ambition for his country's liberty; and diſdaining the allurements of pleaſure, when he had in view the more inviting objects of glory. He had been bred up with the adminiſtrator, and was his favourite. Highly

as Stenon reſpected the wiſdom and experience of the father of Guſtavus, whom years had now rather inclined to timid counſels, Stenon's firſt dependance was placed on the courage and conduct of the ſon. By his advice he had armed the peaſants with fire-arms, inſtead of bows and arrows, which they had uſed before; and at the head of this formidable militia, Stenon marched againſt the archbiſhop, committing to Guſtavus the command of the cavalry. But whilſt he was engaged in the ſiege of Steque, a caſtle into which the archbiſhop had thrown himſelf, he received the unwelcome tidings that the Danes had made a deſcent near his capital of Stockholm, and ravaged the country inhumanly with fire and ſword. Leaving, therefore, his infantry to continue the ſiege, he marched with the cavalry to meet the Danes. Guſtavus at the head of a ſquadron of horſe firſt charged the enemy, and after a moſt obſtinate and bloody engagement, the Danes were utterly defeated; the greater part fell on the field of battle, and thoſe who fled to their ſhips ſet ſail and returned to Denmark.

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To Guſtavus the adminiſtrator generouſly imputed the glory and ſucceſs of that well-fought day. Advancing intrepidly on the enemy, he had charged them ſword in hand, and bearing down all before him, purſued them to the very gunwale of their veſſels, without giving them a moment's time to rally or recover from their confuſion. Such courage and preſence of mind, in one who had never drawn his ſword before in actual ſervice, filled Stenon and all his countrymen with the higheſt eſtimation of his talents for war, as his amiable qualities and improved underſtanding had before diſtinguiſhed him as the delight of his friends.

The victorious army returning to the ſiege of Steque, the proud and rebellious prelate was compelled to ſubmit, and juſtly condemned by the aſſembled ſtates, as the enemy of his country, his ſubſtance was confiſcated; and himſelf degraded from his office, and baniſhed to a convent, there to do merited penance for the crimes and diſorders that his ambition and treachery had occaſioned in the kingdom.

Rage and reſentment filled the boſom of the archbiſhop. He ſecretly diſpatched a courier to Rome to proteſt againſt the ſentence, to which he was compelled to ſubmit, and to implore the protection of the pontiff.

This ferocious beaſt, with his triple crown, who was now in the plenitude of his power, and whoſe fangs were not then drawn, as we ſee them at preſent, gnaſhing with indignation for the affront ſhown to one ſo high in the ſacred order, eſpouſed with violence the cauſe of the archbiſhop; and lanching his formidable thunders of excommunication from the Vatican, delivered over to death and hell the adminiſtrator, and all the ſenate of Sweden, for daring to maintain their independence and vindicate their liberty; delegating to Chriſtiern the honourable office of being the executioner of this inhuman ſentence.

Chriſtiern gladly embraced this opportunity of gratifying at once his ambition and his revenge. Irritated by the defeat of his troops, and impatient to poſſeſs the kingdom which he had ſo long in vain attempted to ſeize, he had raiſed a formidable body of forces in the archbiſhop's favour, and determined to make

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the moſt powerful efforts to ſubdue the ſtubbornneſs of the Swedes the next campaign. Armed with the bull of excommunication, which in thoſe days of ignorance and ſuperſtition carried terrors and diſmay to the deluded conſciences of men, he entered Sweden at the head of his forces, putting all the country to fire and ſword; and fixing up everywhere the fearful ſentence of Rome, covered all his cruelties and ravages with the ſacred pretext of being the miniſter of divine vengeance againſt the excommunicated.

He advanced without reſiſtance to the capital, and laying ſiege to Stockholm, confidently expected that the terror of his arms, and the greater terror of excommunication, would operate to procure for him ready admiſſion into the city; but he was miſtaken. Deſpiſing a ſentence ſo unjuſt, and aſſured of the fidelity of his countrymen, the adminiſtrator Stenon had prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance; and before Chriſtiern could make any progreſs in the ſiege, he advanced with his army, and marched to attack the king of Denmark in his trenches. Chriſtiern, unable to ſtand the ſhock, abandoned his camp with

precipitation; but before he could embark his troops, the Swedes, led by Guſtavus, attacked his rear-guard: Fright and diſmay ſeized the Danes; each preſſed on his fellow; confuſion and diſorder followed, and prevented all reſiſtance; they were cut to pieces by their purſuers, or drowned in attempting to ſwim to their ſhips.

But the miſeries of Chriſtiern ended not here. Thoſe who had embarked with him on board the fleet, having loſt all their proviſion, ammunition, and baggage, they were reduced to the greateſt ſtraits by famine. The wind continued contrary to them, and for three months detained them, in vain attempting to beat up againſt it. Neceſſity compelled them now to diſembark on the coaſt to procure forage and food, for want of which both men and horſes were periſhing daily in abundance; but every-where he met the brave Guſtavus at the head of the Swediſh cavalry, defeating every attempt, and compelling him to embark with continual loſs and diſgrace.

Reduced to the laſt extremity, and exaſperated almoſt to madneſs, the king of Denmark found himſelf, his fleet and army, ready

ready to periſh by famine, in ſight of the coaſt of his enemies. But one reſource remained—he reſolved to ſend an envoy to the adminiſtrator, to propoſe a truce for a few days, under pretence of a mutual exchange of priſoners. The perſon charged with this propoſition took occaſion, in the conference, to inſinuate, that it might probably be no difficult matter to put a period to all their differences, and end their truce in a league of eternal peace and amity. The adminiſtrator was no ſtranger to the diſtreſſes of his enemies, and might eaſily have enjoyed the triumph of ſeeing them periſh by famine, and the diſeaſes inſeparable from their ſituation; but his native generoſity, aided by the hope of peace, which would give his country reſt from the calamities of war, and leave him in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his dignity, engaged him to conſent to the propoſitions of the envoy; and he diſpatched immediately a number of barks loaded with proviſions for Chriſtiern and his famiſhed fleet.

The ſoul of Chriſtiern was a compound of every thing baſe, treacherous, and cruel. Inſenſible to every feeling of gratitude or ge-

nerous ſentiment, his firſt idea was, that an opportunity might now probably be found to trepan the adminiſtrator, and ſome of the principal of the nobility, into his power; and for this end he ſent ſeveral of his moſt conſiderable officers to invite the noble Swede, with thoſe of his court whom he ſhould chuſe as his aſſociates, to come on board; under pretence, that the conditions of the peace propoſed, would more eaſily be concerted between themſelves in a conference, than by a tedious negotiation; and offered to leave the perſons of quality whom he ſent, as hoſtages for their ſafe return.

The frank and generous ſpirit of the adminiſtrator was incapable of entertaining the ſuſpicion of ſo black a treaſon as was intended; he was making preparation to accept the invitation, when the ſenate interpoſed, and engaged him to decline the propoſed interview; whether they ſuſpected danger, or wiſhed to maintain his dignity. The hoſtages, therefore, were ſent back, with a freſh cargo of refreſhments, and the ſenate's propoſals to treat of the intended peace, by commiſſaries appointed on each ſide.

Chriſ-

Chriſtiern felt the bitterneſs of his diſappointment, but determined not to abandon his object. Since the adminiſtrator had eſcaped from his toils, his next moſt formidable enemy appeared to be Guſtavus: Him, therefore, he ſet his craft at work to entrap and ſeize, imagining, that could he get him, with five or ſix other of the principal nobility, into his power, he could conſtrain the adminiſtrator, by the terrors of death hanging over Guſtavus and his companions, to conſent to the re-eſtabliſhment of the union of Calmar, or embroil him with the firſt families in the kingdom on their account.

To carry this deteſtable treachery into execution, Chriſtiern urged the neceſſity of a perſonal interview with the adminiſtrator, and offered to come himſelf to viſit him in Stockholm, requiring only, that Guſtavus and ſix others of the nobility whom he named, might be hoſtages for his ſafe return; urging in the moſt apparently friendly manner, the concluſion of the wiſhed-for peace, which would, by this means, be ſooner and more completely eſtabliſhed.

A propoſition ſo fair and unexceptionable, the adminiſtrator and ſenate could ſee no reaſon to decline. The time was fixed. The barge of the king of Denmark began to move to the ſhore, where Guſtavus and his companions were ready to embark, as hoſtages till his return. The Daniſh admiral brought his ſhallop to receive them, and advancing to meet them, invited them on board, and to pay their compliments to his Daniſh majeſty as they paſſed to the ſhips. Guſtavus heſitated about embarking, till the king of Denmark had landed; but the Daniſh admiral had previouſly ſent on ſhore a number of his crew, who were diſperſed in different parts of the city to prevent ſuſpicion, with orders to collect in the rear of the train of the hoſtages, who found themſelves now ſurrounded; and, preſſed by the admiral to embark, thought it better to do the matter with a good grace, than attempt an uſeleſs reſiſtance.

No ſooner were they carried on board, than this infamous monarch ordered them to be arreſted and diſarmed; and diſpatching a meſſage to the adminiſtrator and ſenate, threatened to hang them up on the yard-arms

of

of his ſhip, as excommunicated rebels, if they deferred a moment to re-eſtabliſh the archbiſhop, and the union of Calmar.

Rage and reſentment for ſuch unparalleled perfidy flamed in the boſom of Stenon and the nobility, who ſaw their children and relations expoſed to the perfidy, inſults, and cruelty of the tyrant Chriſtiern. They ran to the port, armed every bark and veſſel in the harbour, determined to attack the Daniſh fleet, and reſcue the hoſtages, or periſh in the attempt. But whilſt the preparations for this deſperate effort were making, a favourable wind ſprang up: The Danes weighed anchor, and without the poſſibility of being overtaken, made ſail for the harbour of Copenhagen.

CHAP. II.

ARRIVED in Denmark, the tyrant Chriſtiern, crafty as cruel, omitted no means in his power to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his hoſtages, and detach them from the party of the adminiſtrator; but he found his pro-

miſes as ineffectual as his menaces: Deſpairing, therefore, of gaining their confidence, he determined to rid himſelf of them, dreading eſpecially the courage and reſentment of Guſtavus, ſhould he be ever forced, however reluctant, to releaſe them from their captivity. He commanded, therefore, the Daniſh officer to whoſe guard he was committed, to make away with him ſecretly, by the moſt expeditious means, whether of poiſon or the ſword. But the officer, who was a man of honour, deteſted ſo barbarous a commiſſion; and juſtly apprehenſive that ſuch cruelties would be retaliated upon every Dane who ſhould fall into the power of the Swedes, he repreſented to the king how very prejudicial ſuch a ſtep would be to his intereſt, and how effectually he muſt loſe all the advantages ariſing from the fears of their death, which would be a conſtant tie upon their relations; but in caſe of their deſtruction, would give place to the moſt implacable reſentment and revenge.

Chriſtiern, thirſting for their blood, but deterred and withheld from the execution of his cruel purpoſe, confined them in the caſtle of Copenhagen, and treating them with the greateſt

greateſt ſeverity, ſome of them periſhed under the hardſhips they ſuffered; nor would any have long ſurvived, if He, againſt whom counſel and might are in vain, and who had deſigned Guſtavus for purpoſes of his own glory, had not raiſed him up a friend in the day of his extremity.

Eric Banner, a Daniſh nobleman, and diſtantly allied to the family of Guſtavus, beheld, with compaſſion, the ſufferings he underwent, and under which, if not quickly reſcued, he muſt ſoon ſink the victim of cruelty. He knew the ſpirit and temper of his maſter, diſtruſtful, ſuſpicious, and inſenſible to every ſentiment of humanity; and that he could only ſucceed in his own ſcheme by flattering Chriſtiern with the hope of gratifying his wiſhes. He therefore ſuggeſted to the king whether it might not be politic to commit Guſtavus to his care, and try if the kind offices of a relation might not be more prevalent to produce a change in his political ſentiments, than the ſeverities he had uſed with him to ſo little purpoſe. The king, with ſome heſitation, conſented to the trial, but on condition, that Guſtavus ſhould be conducted

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to the fortreſs of Kalo, in Jutland, of which Banner was governor, and that he ſhould be ſubject to a fine of ſix thouſand crowns of gold if he ſuffered him to eſcape, or failed to produce him on demand.

Banner, who would have ſubmitted to any conditions that could be impoſed upon him to ſave a life ſo dear, conſented to whatever the king preſcribed, and with delight conveyed his priſoner from the caſtle of Copenhagen to the fortreſs of Kalo. There, by every kind attention, every endearment of friendſhip, he endeavoured to make him forget the miſeries which he had undergone. The noble figure, the generous ſpirit, and the amiable qualities of the captive Swede, won the affections of Banner and all his family. It ceaſed to be the houſe of his priſon; he was permitted to walk in the environs of the caſtle, to take the diverſions of the field, and amuſed with every pleaſure which his kind and obliging hoſts could procure for him: But his great mind could not brook the idea of a priſon, nor receive any conſolation when his country called for his avenging arm to vindicate their wrongs and his own. In the midſt of the endear-

endearments of friendſhip, and the amuſements with which they ſought to ſoften his chagrin, he pined for liberty, and longed to burſt forth once more into the career of patriotiſm and glory.

Chriſtiern, ſtung with remorſe at his own baſeneſs, and rage at the impotent attempts which he had hitherto made, determined by one mighty effort more to try if he could not revenge all his paſt diſappointments, and wreath the yoke of ſervitude around the ſtubborn necks of his enemies. Alike hated and feared by his own ſubjects as by the Swedes, he was obliged, in order to raiſe ſufficient ſupplies, to have recourſe to a variety of ſtratagems, mean, unjuſt, and oppreſſive. He ſeized the money which the Pope's legate had raiſed by the ſale of indulgences in Denmark and Sweden, and extorted ſtill more from the Danes, by unheard-of taxes and impoſitions.

The oppoſition he had met with from the clergy and the nobility of his own realm, determined him to place his confidence rather in mercenary troops than in his own ſubjects. Of theſe, therefore, he hired a numerous army,

army, among whom were four thouſand French, under the command of the prince of Faucormont and the baron Gondrin. He was now become as formidable to his own eſtates as to his neighbours; and reſiſtance to his will was puniſhed as rebellion. But knowing how much he was the object of his ſubjects' ſecret deteſtation, he dared not leave Copenhagen, leſt his abſence might occaſion ſome dangerous commotion; but committed the conduct of the expedition to Otho Crumpein, eſteemed the greateſt general of the North.

Otho, at the head of his army, entered into Weſt Gothland, and making every-where the moſt horrible ravages, endeavoured to draw the Swedes to a battle. The adminiſtrator advanced to meet him, but finding his forces yet unequal, and expecting powerful reinforcements, entrenched himſelf ſtrongly in the foreſt of Tyvede. Otho, to draw him from his entrenchments, pretended to retire in diſorder, and with precipitation, over the lake Wetter, which was then frozen. Stenon, burning for revenge, and flattering himſelf that he ſhould fall upon his enemies, diſordered and diſmayed, quitted his poſt, and leaving his

his infantry behind him, purſued with the main body of his cavalry, and overtaking the Danes near Bogeſund, charged them ſword in hand. Animated by the courage and example of their leader, the Swedes performed prodigies of valour; the prince at the head of his ſquadron, compoſed of the choice of the nobility, bore down all before him, and victory was ready to declare in his favour, when a cannon-ball took off one of the adminiſtrator's legs, and arreſted him in the career of glory.

The Swedes, ſhocked at the fall of their general, halted: Their apparent confuſion revived the courage of their enemies. Otho rallied his flying troops, and charging his cannon with cartfidge balls, played them on the thickeſt ſquadrons, whilſt his infantry, at the ſame time, kept up an inceſſant fire. Staggering, deſtitute of their general, the Swediſh cavalry attempted a retreat; but the enemy advancing rapidly upon them, fearing to be ſurrounded, they diſbanded and fled, each man ſhifting for himſelf as faſt as his horſe would carry him. A general carnage followed; and with the utmoſt difficulty could the

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adminiſtrator be reſcued from the field of battle; but he died in his ſledge near Stregnez, as they were conveying him to Stockholm.

The Daniſh general loſt not a moment to improve the advantage of the general conſternation; he marched immediately to force the Swediſh entrenchments, which he had flattered himſelf he ſhould eaſily carry. But the Swediſh peaſants defended themſelves with the moſt determined courage; the Daniſh infantry who were ordered to the attack gave way, and could not be prevailed upon to return to the charge. Filled with rage and deſpair at the cowardice of the Danes, Otho ordered the French battalion to mount the entrenchments. The prince of Faucormont led them to the ſummit, when he received the ſtroke of an arrow, which tumbled him headlong into the foſſé. His ſoldiers, enraged at the fall of their commander, ruſhed irreſiſtibly upon the Swedes, and carried the entrenchments, after a moſt obſtinate conflict. Otho, under favour of this attack, had penetrated in another part of their lines, and filled the camp with carnage. Overpowered, ſurrounded on every ſide, the deſperate peaſantry

ruſhed

ruſhed furiouſly into the thickeſt battalions of their enemies, determined to gratify their vengeance in death. Moſt of them were cut to pieces on the ſpot; a few, under cover of the night and ſurrounding woods, returned in deſpair to their deſolate villages.

There being neither regular troops nor militia on foot to oppoſe his progreſs, the Daniſh general advanced into the heart of the country. The death of Stenon, and the defeat of his army, had filled the kingdom with conſternation and deſpair. Scarce could the widow of the adminiſtrator and her infant ſons promiſe themſelves ſecurity in Stockholm, whither they had fled. Nothing but the election of a new adminiſtrator could reſcue the falling nation from the yoke of ſervitude prepared for them.

That traitor, the archbiſhop, failed not to ſeize this critical moment of quitting his monaſtery; and aſſuming all the marks of his former dignity, which he had ſolemnly renounced, he entered Upſal, and declared for the king of Denmark. Being there joined by the biſhops and principal clergy, who were generally of Chriſtiern's party, they ſet themſelves

ſelves violently to thwart every ſtep that would lead to the election of another adminiſtrator. Exerting themſelves in their ſeveral dioceſes, by flattery to gain, or by threats to intimidate, the nobles, who were moſt to be apprehended, they repreſented the impoſſibility of reſiſting the power of the Danes, and the eternal danger of oppoſing the anathemas of the Roman pontiff; that nothing now remained but ſubmiſſion, if they would not be treated as rebels againſt their king, and heretics againſt the church.

They perſuaded, therefore, ſome of the ſenators and nobles to ſend a deputation to Otho, to obtain a truce, whilſt they aſſembled the ſtates, in which they engaged that no reſolution ſhould be formed contrary to the intereſts of his maſter. Otho, unwilling to admit of delay, in which the Swedes might recover from their conſternation, gave them only eleven days to aſſemble the ſtates at Upſal, and determine the fate of the kingdom. The archbiſhop, as firſt ſenator and preſident, iſſued his requiſitions immediately; the clergy exerted all their influence to induce the deputies of the nobility to aſſemble; but

but the greater part refuſed to pay any regard to a convention held in a city already devoted to Chriſtiern, and where the Danes were ſure to dictate every article. The clergy, three ſenators, and a few nobility, intimidated by the preſence of the army, and to preſerve their lands from deſolation, conſtituted, therefore, the whole of this aſſembly.

The archbiſhop, with his creatures, and Otho, attended by the principal officers of his army, rendered deliberations unneceſſary, and the deciſion ſhort. It was determined to ſuppreſs the dignity of adminiſtrator, and eſtabliſh the union of Calmar in the perſon of Chriſtiern: Whilſt Otho, in the name of his maſter, engaged to maintain the Swedes in their laws and privileges, and among other ſolemn engagements in their favour, that all priſoners, and particularly Guſtavus, ſhould be releaſed without ranſom.

The title of king of Sweden was now, by the archbiſhop, ſolemnly given to Chriſtiern, and Otho marched to compel ſubmiſſion to his authority, in the moſt diſtant provinces of the kingdom; and in order to conquer the averſion manifeſted againſt the Daniſh yoke, the

the archbiſhop forbad the bodies of thoſe, who fell in arms againſt the orders of the Pope, to be admitted to chriſtian burial—a menace, in theſe ſuperſtitious days, much more terrible than death itſelf.

Except Stockholm and Calmar, the whole kingdom of Sweden ſubmitted to the Daniſh general: The former, where the widow of Stenon, with her children, had taken refuge, was inveſted by Otho, and all ſupplies effectually cut off.

The news of Otho's ſucceſs filled Denmark with triumph: But the jealous Chriſtiern dreaded now that his general would ſet up for himſelf; and therefore, after praiſing his valour and fidelity, informed him, that he ſhould follow himſelf theſe letters, with a conſiderable force; and to ingratiate himſelf with his new ſubjects, ſent them ſeveral veſſels laden with ſalt, a commodity then ſcarce and very dear in Sweden, which he ordered to be diſtributed to the principal perſons of every village, and by them in donations to the peaſants.

Guſtavus heard, in his confinement, with anguiſh and deep reſentment, the miſeries and ſub-

jection of his country: Deeply afflicted with the death of the adminiſtrator, and utterly deſpairing that, in this ſtate of general conſternation, the Swedes could any longer prevent ſubmiſſion to the tyrannic yoke of Chriſtiern, his captivity, though ſoftened by every tender attention, became now more inſupportable to him than ever. His thirſt to avenge the blood of Stenon, his deep ſenſibility of his country's wrongs, his zeal to reſcue his fellow citizens from ſervitude, and perhaps ſome diſtant hope of riſing to the nobleſt reward of his ambition in their deliverance, determined him to ſeize the firſt opportunity to attempt his eſcape from the houſe of his priſon. He knew Chriſtiern too well to hope that he would ever releaſe him, notwithſtanding the engagements of Otho in the treaty of Upſal; nor could he, with any propriety, expect that Banner, though his relation, would ſacrifice to friendſhip his honour and his loyalty. To himſelf, therefore, alone, he determined to be indebted for the liberty of which he had been ſo baſely deprived; fully purpoſing to remit to the friendly Dane, who ſhould loſe nothing by his flight, the ſix thouſand

crowns, for which he ſtood engaged to the king.

Early in the morning, on pretence of hunting, in which he had been indulged, he left the caſtle of Kalo, and, ſecreting himſelf from his attendants in the woods, dreſſed himſelf as a peaſant, with clothes which he had there concealed; and travelling on foot two days, by unfrequented roads, he reached the city of Flenſberg, on the confines of Denmark: But as no perſon was permitted to go from that city without a paſſport, Guſtavus found himſelf in the utmoſt perplexity, not daring to approach the gates, or make application to the Governor, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered. Providentially for him, (for the minuteſt events often lead to the greateſt, and are equally fixed in their order and ſucceſſion), it was that ſeaſon of the year when the merchants of Lower Saxony come into Jutland to purchaſe oxen, of which great numbers are annually ſent into Germany. To one of theſe Guſtavus hired himſelf as a driver, and paſſing unnoticed under their paſſport, eſcaped from the territories of Denmark, and arrived in ſafety at Lubec.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

BANNER, appriſed of the eſcape of his priſoner, purſued him with the utmoſt diligence, and overtook him at Lubec. In the firſt heat of reſentment, he reproached Guſtavus with his ingratitude, in expoſing him, by his flight, to the indignation of his ſovereign, to whoſe temper he could be no ſtranger; beſides the great loſs he muſt neceſſarily incur by the forfeiture of his obligation. Guſtavus employed every argument and intreaty to appeaſe and ſatisfy his friend: He repreſented the injuſtice of his detention, and the violation of every law of nature and nations in the ſeizure of his perſon; the continuance of his captivity, notwithſtanding the ſolemn engagement at Upſal; and the ſtrongeſt appearances that Chriſtiern intended it ſhould be perpetual;—that under ſuch circumſtances, Banner himſelf could not, in his heart, condemn him for attempting to recover his liberty; and as to the ſum of money he muſt forfeit, it had been his intention imme-

diately to procure and remit it to him, ſo that he ſhould certainly be reimburſed.

Convinced of the juſtice of his reaſons, and ſatisfied with his promiſe of repayment, Banner embraced him, and returned; giving out, that he had been unable to overtake the fugitive. But Chriſtiern was not eaſily to be appeaſed: He dreaded the conſequences of his eſcape; and fearing that Guſtavus would paſs into Sweden, and attempt to traverſe his deſigns, he diſpatched a courier to Otho, informing him of the flight of Guſtavus, and enjoining him to uſe every means to diſcover and arreſt him.

Undiſmayed by all the dangers which ſurrounded him, Guſtavus perſiſted in his determination to paſs into Sweden, and attempt to form a party againſt the Danes. He applied to Nicholas Gems, chief conſul of Lubec, in hopes of engaging him to enter into his deſign, and afford him ſome ſupport for the undertaking. Having waited upon him, and made himſelf known, he repreſented how much it was the intereſt of the regency of Lubec to oppoſe the aggrandiſement of Chriſtiern; that his conqueſt of Sweden would

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give him the entire dominion of the Baltic, and ruin the commerce of the Hans towns; that Lubec had as conſtantly experienced the enmity of the Danes, as they had proved the friendhip of Sweden; that this city owed its liberty to the Swediſh king Bleſus, who had reſcued it from the tyranny of Denmark; and therefore that gratitude and intereſt conſpired to engage them to ſupport their ancient Allies.

The conſul entered cordially into the reaſoning of Guſtavus, and promiſed to propoſe the matter at the firſt council. But the regency of Lubec, compoſed of merchants, who only conſider their immediate gains, cared not to declare themſelves in favour of a party that appeared deſtitute of troops, money, and every neceſſary reſource: and, fearing to irritate Chriſtiern, whoſe fleet was ſo conſiderable, they abſolutely refuſed to carry Guſtavus to Stockholm, whither he was impatient to go. But the conſul, to whom he firſt addreſſed himſelf, either better acquainted with the real intereſts of his citizens than his fellow counſellors, or perhaps in ſecret permitted by them to facilitate the voyage of Guſta-

vus, without the regency's appearing to take any part in the matter, undertook to procure Guſtavus a veſſel, and land him in Sweden, and when he embarked, gave him to underſtand, that if he could form a party in the kingdom, Lubec would declare in his favour.

Guſtavus longed to enter the port of Stockholm; but the maſter of the veſſel, whether he had received ſuch orders, or the courſe of his voyage ſo required, ſet him on ſhore near Calmar. When he entered the city, which ſeemed to hold out for the widow of the adminiſtrator, he found that in fact it was at the diſpoſal of the governor, who only waited to make the moſt advantageous terms with the Danes, to recompenſe him for the loſs of his command. To him, and to his principal officers, who were Germans, and had ſerved under prince Stenon, Guſtavus addreſſed himſelf; flattering himſelf, that conſidering his birth, and former authority, they would receive him as their commander. He exhorted them to be faithful to the widow of their prince,—ſaid that at the peril of his life he was come to ſhare with them the glory of an honourable defence, and that he could

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aſſure them of aſſiſtance from abroad. But theſe mercenary ſoldiers of fortune, ſeeing him deſtitute of troops and money, looked upon him as quite a deſperate adventurer, with whom they would form no connexions. And when he attempted to gain the ſoldiers of the garriſon, they threatened to kill him on the ſpot, or deliver him up to Chriſtiern, unleſs he deſiſted, ſo that he was obliged to leave the place with precipitation; and as the affair made a noiſe, the Danes, who had intelligence of his being in the country, diſpatched multitudes in queſt of him on every ſide. He was obliged, therefore, to have recourſe to his former diſguiſe, and concealing himſelf under a waggon load of ſtraw, paſſed ſafely through the quarters of the Daniſh army, and eſcaped to a caſtle of his father's in Sundermania.

From thence he diſpatched letters to his friends, informing them of his return to Sweden, and ſoliciting them to join him with their vaſſals, offering to put himſelf at their head, and force a paſſage through the Daniſh quarters into Stockholm; but not a ſoul could he engage in ſo perilous an attempt, and his

own relations refuſed any correſpondence with him. Thoſe haughty Swedes, once ſo jealous of their liberty, now bowing their necks beneath the Daniſh yoke, indifferent to the intereſts of their country, and only anxious for their perſonal ſafety, jealouſly avoided giving the leaſt ſuſpicion of revolt.

Indignant at the puſillanimity of his friends, Guſtavus addreſſed himſelf to the peaſants of the province. He hoped a race, naturally ſo rough and hardy, who had nothing to hope or fear from Chriſtiern, would embrace his party with ardour. By night, at firſt, he went round to gain the principal perſons of the villages, and dared, at laſt, on their feaſt day, to appear in public, and exhorted them to riſe, and vindicate their liberty: But theſe poor creatures, quite diſheartened, and weary of the war, in which many of them had loſt their deareſt relations, brutally replied, that they had better eat their herrings and ſalt in peace under the king of Denmark, than expoſe themſelves to a gibbet by rebellion.

The heart of Guſtavus was penetrated to the quick by this repulſe. Where to go, or what to do, he knew not. The Danes were

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in eager purſuit of him; to remain in the ſame place, or frequently to change his abode, equally expoſed him to diſcovery. Rendered deſperate by his ſituation, he determined alone to penetrate into Stockholm, or periſh in the attempt. He hoped his preſence might animate the garriſon and the citizens to a more determined and obſtinate reſiſtance; and that ſome riſing in the kingdom, or ſuccour from the Hans towns might ſtill preſerve the capital, and with it the kingdom, from the impending ruin.

Without communicating his intention to a creature, he left the caſtle of Refnas, and travelled on foot in diſguiſe for ſeveral days, keeping the moſt unfrequented roads, and lodging only in lonely and mean cottages, to eſcape obſervation: But the Danes had made ſo hot a purſuit after him, that he eſcaped at his laſt reſting place, but by a ſingle hour, and by ſtriking inſtantly into a different rout.

Reduced to the laſt extremity, he reſolved to attempt concealing himſelf for a time in ſome monaſtery, and being near the chartreux of Grynſholme, a convent founded by

his noble anceſtors, he flattered himſelf he might find, within their ſacred walls, a ſecure retreat; but theſe pious monks, little grateful for paſt favours, and ſcrupulouſly attached to the preſervation of the good things which they poſſeſſed, deſired to be excuſed receiving ſo dangerous a gueſt, fearful of drawing down the indignation of Chriſtiern upon their houſe and order, and therefore recommended him to ſeek ſome other aſylum.

Nothing, therefore, now remained for Guſtavus, but to return to the province of Sundermania, from whence he came, and hide himſelf in the cottage of an ancient peaſant, who had been a domeſtic in his family. There he lay concealed ſeveral months, and, employing his faithful hoſt, addreſſed himſelf, by letters, to ſeveral of the nobility around, exhorting them to take arms, and make one glorious effort more for liberty. But not a ſoul dared to ſtir; the preſence of Otho, and the dread of Chriſtiern's approach, quelled every thought of reſiſtance. One glimmering ray of hope alone ſupported the diſconſolate Guſtavus: He thought the ſeverity

verity of Chriſtiern, and the utter abhorrence of the Swedes to the Daniſh government, might produce ſome conjuncture capable of being improved to advantage.

CHAP. IV.

CHRISTIERN, impatient to enjoy his conqueſts, and make his triumphant entry amidſt his new ſubjects, early in the Spring paſſed into Sweden. He was received by the archbiſhop and the other prelates with thoſe tranſports of joy which the ſucceſs of their deſigns inſpired. This ambitious eccleſiaſtic flattered himſelf that to him Chriſtiern would commit the government of the kingdom.

The firſt act of Chriſtiern's crafty politics was to ratify the treaty of Upſal, and then, as king of Sweden, to ſummons the widow of Stenon and the governor of Calmar to ſurrender the cities which they held. The latter only waited to make his conditions, and receiving his price, gave up that important fortreſs. But the adminiſtrator's widow re-

jected his propoſitions with diſdain; upbraiding, as traitors and rebels, thoſe who had preſumed to confer upon him the title of royalty.

As Stockholm alone, of all the kingdom, remained unſubdued, Chriſtiern preſſed the ſiege vigorouſly by ſea and land. Himſelf on horſeback night and day, encouraging his ſoldiers, they gave the beſieged not a moment's reſpite; no ſuccour could be hoped, and the efforts of the moſt determined courage were inſufficient to conflict againſt ſuch ſuperior powers without, and famine within. Compelled to capitulate, Chriſtiern diſputed not the conditions; they were more advantageous to the princeſs than in the preſent ſituation of affairs could have been expected. But the crafty politician knew that when he was once in poſſeſſion, the articles of the capitulation muſt have him for their interpreter.

In conſequence of the capitulation, Chriſtiern entered triumphant into the capital of his kingdom, every creature ſubmitted to his deſpotic ſway, and the day was fixed for the ceremony of his coronation.

Chriſtiern

Chriſtiern was a prince of a temperament naturally violent; in his diſpoſition cruel and unfeeling,—delighting in ſcenes of blood; and to accompliſh his ends, he never ſtuck at the means; oaths never bound, honour never influenced him. He had with him a miſtreſs, whoſe name was Sigibritte, a native of Holland, paſt the prime of life, poſſeſſed neither of birth, nor beauty, nor any one female accompliſhment; yet he doated upon her to diſtraction; ſhe ſwayed him with an abſolute dominion; and her aſtoniſhing power over him ſeemed to reſult from a ſimilarity of diſpoſition; ſhe was ever his companion and counſellor, and his reſolutions took always a deeper tincture of malignity from her advice.

Sigibritte, when they were alone, took an opportunity to repreſent to Chriſtiern, that all his victories were yet imperfect, and their conſequences doubtful, as long as his enemies were permitted to live; that all the ſenators and firſt nobility of the kingdom were traitors born, and ready to put themſelves at the head of the firſt rebellion, in hopes of advancing themſelves to the dignity of adminiſtrator; that the Swedes, who had expreſſed the great-

eſt zeal for his intereſt, were not in the leaſt to be depended upon; that the very biſhops, as well as the nobility, would be ready to take arms and revolt, if he put but a finger to retrench their privileges, or attempted to govern without ſharing with them the ſovereignty: That therefore, for his own repoſe, and the ſecurity of his conqueſts, he muſt finiſh the work he had begun; he muſt remove out of his way every man, as a criminal, who poſſeſſed the power to rebel; nor ought he to leave a ſingle Swede behind him alive, whoſe property or influence in the provinces could enable them to give him uneaſineſs; it would be ſufficient if his ſubjects conſiſted of thoſe, who could till the ground and pay the taxes to government.

Theſe inhuman counſels were perfectly congenial with the ſpirit of Chriſtiern. He reſolved to carry them into execution; but it was politically neceſſary to produce ſome ſpecious pretext for ſo general and horrid a maſſacre of perſons ſo eminent and diſtinguiſhed, and for whoſe ſafety and privilege he had ſo lately bound himſelf by the moſt ſolemn engagements.

Nothing

Nothing in his dark mind ſeemed to afford a more colourable vindication of his conduct, nay, to heighten its merit, by pretended zeal for the church and religion, than to make uſe of the ſentence of excommunication pronounced by the Pope againſt the ſenate and ſtates, on account of the depoſition of the archbiſhop: But theſe bloody purpoſes required the veil of diſſimulation for a while, to carry them more effectually into execution.

Before his coronation it was neceſſary that Chriſtiern ſhould return to Denmark, where his imperious conduct and deſpotic government had rendered him almoſt as much abhorred as in Sweden. Nothing but the ſucceſs and terror of his arms could have kept the Danes ſubmiſſive, whoſe murmurs againſt his authority, and refuſal to pay the enormous taxes which he had impoſed, threatened an approaching rebellion; but his arrival ſpread diſmay, and ſilenced complaint; and the glory of his conqueſts impreſſed his ſubjects with reſpect, and preſerved them in obedience.

The time for his coronation approaching, Chriſtiern ſet ſail for Stockholm, taking with him, at the advice of Sigibritte, who remain-

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ed at Copenhagen, two of the principal ſenators of Denmark, Theodore, archbiſhop of Lunden, and the biſhop of Odenſee, the perſons to whom the Pope's bull of excommunication was addreſſed; that by their preſence he might authoriſe the cruelties he meditated, and, after the blow was ſtruck, caſt upon them the odium of ſo inhuman a maſſacre.

The king and his court were received at Stockholm with all poſſible magnificence. The ſenate, the clergy, the nobility, and all the deputies of the provinces were aſſembled; no man dared to be abſent; whatever they felt, all expreſſed the moſt unbounded loyalty, and thoſe who were moſt conſcious of their abhorrence of a foreign yoke, covered their feelings with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and fidelity. After a ſolemn oath upon the Goſpels and reliques of the ſaints, to maintain, inviolably, the laws, privileges, cuſtoms, and immunities of the kingdom, the archbiſhop of Upſal put the crown on the head of Chriſtiern; and all the aſſembly, the ſenators, the clergy, nobility, and deputies of the provinces, took the oath of fidelity and allegiance.

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The new king, on this joyous occaſion, invited all the chief nobility to a magnificent repaſt in the caſtle; every man of eminence made it a point to pay their reſpects to the monarch. Nothing could equal the graciouſneſs of the reception; Chriſtiern addreſſed every one of them with that apparent cordiality, and condeſcending familiarity, as if he wiſhed to efface every unfavourable ſuſpicion they might have entertained, bury in eternal oblivion the animoſity of party, and give them a ſpecimen of the bleſſings they ſhould enjoy under his government.

Two days paſſed thus in exceſs of joy and tranquillity; the third was advancing in the ſame ſtile of feaſting and magnificence, when, unexpectedly, the archbiſhop of Upſal aroſe, and, followed by his relations and partizans, fell on his knees before the king in the midſt of the aſſembled nobles, (as had been concerted before privately between them), and demanded juſtice of the king againſt the deceaſed adminiſtrator, the ſenate, and nobility, who had degraded him from his office, and razed the fortreſs of Steque, which was the patrimony of the church. Chriſtiern excuſed himſelf

himſelf from interfering in the cauſe, and referred the archbiſhop to the Daniſh prelates, to whom the bull of excommunication was addreſſed; proteſting he had nothing to do in the affair, but to ſee juſtice adminiſtered, and to carry their ſentence into excution. Withdrawing from the aſſembly, as if leaving the commiſſioners freely to deliberate, in an inſtant the guards appeared, and ſeized the widow of the adminiſtrator, the ſenators, the biſhops, and every nobleman and gentleman within the caſtle walls.

The Daniſh biſhops immediately commenced the proceſs againſt them all as heretics: But Chriſtiern, too impetuous in his vengeance to wait a tedious deciſion, cut ſhort the procedure, and their condemnation being already determined, leſt there ſhould ariſe any revolt in the city, he, without further formality, ſent for the executioners, and bid the priſoners inſtantly prepare for death. The garriſon was under arms, the cannon ready to play on the principal ſtreets; the trumpets and heralds proclaimed through the city, that none ſhould ſtir from their houſes; univerſal conſternation reigned; no man knew to what

theſe extraordinary movements were the prelude; till the caſtle gates opening, the illuſtrious priſoners appeared, with all the enſigns of their reſpective dignities ſtill upon them, led two by two, in the midſt of their executioners, to the place of ſuffering. A Daniſh officer, as they arrived, read aloud the Pope's bull, as the ſentence of their condemnation, and added, that the king, as counſelled by the archbiſhop of Upſal, officially executed what the apoſtolic commiſſioners had decreed.

Biſhops, ſenators, friends, and foes, fell in this promiſcuous maſſacre. Among the chief was Eric Vaſa, father of Guſtavus, the magiſtrates of Stockholm, and fourſcore and fourteen of the nobility. But his thirſt for blood yet unſlacked, the inhuman Chriſtiern ſtill perceived, with regret, that ſome of the nobility, whom he had particularly proſcribed, had eluded his vengeance. Suppoſing them to be hid in the city, fearing they ſhould eſcape his fury, and hoping to involve Guſtavus in the general carnage, whom he ſuſpected to be ſomewhere concealed in Stockholm, he determined to confound the innocent with the guilty,

guilty, and abandon the city to the fury of the ſoldiers. Like tygers ruſhing on their prey, their ruthleſs ſwords were inſtantly drawn againſt the unarmed people, who had aſſembled to ſee this awful ſpectacle; without diſtinction of age or ſex they ran through the ſtreets, murdering every one they met, entered the principal houſes, under pretext of ſearching for Guſtavus and the proſcribed nobility, ſtabbed the citizens embracing their children, raviſhed their wives and daughters, plundered their valuable effects, and nothing eſcaped their brutality but poverty and uglineſs; as if, in conformity with their ſovereign, they eſteemed ſuch ſavage fury meritorious.

Chriſtiern deſcended from his palace to feaſt his eyes with this ghaſtly ſpectacle; the ſtreets reeked with blood, and were covered with the corpſes of the ſlain. He forbid any perſon, on pain of death, to bury the bodies, as by a refinement of cruelty, beyond example, he had, before the execution, refuſed confeſſors to thoſe who ſought that laſt conſolation for their ſouls; and when the intolerable ſtench compelled him to remove the carcaſſes, he would not ſuffer them to be interred,

but

but ordered them to be burnt without the city, as if he would vent his unſatisfied vengeance on their lifeleſs remains, by treating them as excommunicated heretics.

The widow of the adminiſtrator he committed to Norbi his admiral, endeared to him by a blind obedience to his deſpotic will, with orders to throw her into the ſea. But Norbi, who concealed his own ambition under the veil of zeal for his maſter's intereſt, ſatisfied that a government eſtabliſhed on ſuch acts of violence and cruelty could be of no long duration, and hoping, by her means, to open himſelf a way to the throne, perſuaded the king to accept her offer of ſaving her life, by the diſcovery and ſurrender of all the adminiſtrator's wealth and treaſure. Chriſtiern, avaricious as cruel, accepted the propoſition, and condemning her to perpetual impriſonment, with the mother and ſiſter of Guſtavus, and the principal ladies of the Swediſh nobility, reſerved them as hoſtages for the fidelity of their children and relations.

Suppoſing now he had nothing further to apprehend, Chriſtiern prepared to return to Denmark. He diſpoſed of the government according

cording to his own pleaſure, and impoſed on the people the moſt enormous taxes, threatning every peaſant found in rebellion with cutting off one leg and arm; contemptuouſly obſerving, that for a fellow born for the plough, and not for war, a wooden leg and arm might anſwer his purpoſe ſufficiently. The archbiſhop of Lunden was declared vice-roy, and the biſhop of Odenſee, with the archbiſhop of Upſal, his aſſiſtants and council. On theſe Daniſh biſhops he beſtowed the rich biſhopricks of Stregnez and Scara, whoſe poſſeſſors they had ſo lately murdered; and the Pope readily confirmed the nomination, as the due reward of their meritorious ſervices.

Let no man ſtand amazed at the myſterious ſteps of Providence, or ſtagger at the proſperity of triumphant wickedneſs: This is not the world of judgment; there is a God which judgeth the earth. The wrath of man ſhall praiſe him; and he can over-rule all the machinations of the crafty, and make the ravages of ambition and cruelty ſubſervient to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, and ultimately to terminate in promoting the purpoſes

poſes of his own glory, and the ſalvation of his redeemed.

CHAP. V.

THE laſt commands of Chriſtiern to his regents reſpected Guſtavus; he enjoined them to ſpare no pains nor expence to diſcover the place of his retreat. He iſſued a proclamation, promiſing the moſt conſiderable and tempting rewards to any perſon who ſhould bring him in, dead or alive; threatning all who aided or concealed him, with his ſevereſt vengeance, as traitors and rebels.

His troops, during his abſence, diſperſed through the provinces, and continued the perpetration of every crime and cruelty. Every nobleman, accuſed of being rich or popular, was ſeized and maſſacred in their ſeveral caſtles. The country groaned under pillage and oppreſſion, and all hope of redreſs was deſpaired of, when it was known that the governors themſelves encouraged and ſupported theſe acts of violence. The viceroy, abandoned to pleaſure,

pleaſure, and graſping with both hands all the wealth he could accumulate, confiſcated to his own uſe the poſſeſſions of thoſe whom he proſcribed and murdered. His principal officers ravaged in ſeparate troops, as if it had been an enemy's country, and marked their way with deſolation. All order and diſcipline was loſt, in the ſtruggle who ſhould firſt enrich themſelves by rapine and plunder.

The nobility who ſurvived ſuch repeated maſſacres, reduced to deſpair, diſunited, without a head, without refuge, expoſed every moment to ruin and death, ſaw no eſcape from the cruelty of the Danes, but in the protection of the archbiſhop, to whom they were compelled to make their court with the moſt ſervile aſſiduity and adulation. It ſeemed as if the whole race of Swediſh nobility had been extinct: All eagerly ſolicited to be received into the troops of the viceroy, and they were regarded by the reſt as objects of envy, who were permitted to enliſt themſelves and bear arms under the tyrants of their country.

Guſtavus, from the depth of his retreat, ceaſed not to turn his views on every ſide, if haply

haply he might diſcover ſome favourable opening for the execution of his patriotic deſigns. He had ſecretly diſpatched to Stockholm his old and faithful domeſtic, to collect intelligence of what was paſſing in the nation, and waited with trembling ſolicitude his return. Eager to learn the fate of his country, with what horror and affliction did Guſtavus receive the tidings of the inhuman maſſacre of his father, the ſenators, the nobility, and all the principal perſons of the capital!

This fatal ſtroke, which had ſwept off at once all his family and friends, and thoſe from whom alone he could form any hopes of ſafety for himſelf or help for his country, reduced him to the borders of deſpair. Where to turn or whither to go, he knew not: He ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by troops of his purſuers on every ſide: He knew the vaſt temptation of rewards, held out to thoſe who ſhould diſcover the place of his retreat; and the menaces of death, in its moſt hideous forms, to any man who ſhould attempt to harbour, conceal, or aſſiſt him: Unſafe in his preſent ſituation, yet conſcious how imminent was the danger of removal; not having a

creature in whom he could confide, nor an aſylum where he could promiſe himſelf ſecurity; and juſtly apprehenſive how powerfully the influence of fear operated to betray him, when ſeconded by the promiſes of ſuch diſtinguiſhed recompenſe.

In this extremity, he reſolved to attempt retiring into the mountains of Dalecarlia, hoping it poſſible to conceal himſelf in the woods, with which that ſteril region is overſpread; and not deſpairing but it might yet be practicable to rouſe the rough ſpirits of thoſe rude peaſants who inhabited theſe dreary mountains to revolt, as they, of all the kingdom, had laſt ſubmitted to the Daniſh yoke.

The province of Dalecarlia poſſeſſed not a ſingle town. It conſiſted only of wretched villages, ſituated for the convenience of ſubſiſtence, on the confines of the foreſts, or on the borders of lakes and rivers. Some of theſe villages depended on the gentlemen of the country, but many of them being domains of the crown, were entirely under the government of the peaſants themſelves. The moſt aged and reſpectable were choſen for their judges and captains, without poſſeſſing either more

more wealth or authority than their fellows; their only diſtinction being that of ſtanding in the front, and their only privilege, to be the firſt in combat. All power reſided in the people at large aſſembled on their holidays, when they decided on the affairs of the village, and that uſually according to the ſuggeſtions and influence of the moſt violent and moſt mutinous.

The government never dared to quarter troops, or keep garriſons in that province; nor did even their native monarchs attempt to enter the country, till they had previouſly given hoſtages to the inhabitants for the ſecurity of their privileges. They eſteemed it highly prudent and politic to treat theſe ferocious ſpirits with particular attentions, leſt, conſcious of the inacceſſibility of their mountains, they ſhould perceive it was always in their own power to diſobey: they were exempted from all tribute, except a ſmall acknowledgment of ſubjection in furs, and permitted to live according to their own cuſtoms and laws, however different from thoſe of the other provinces of the kingdom.

To theſe inhoſpitable regions, Guſtavus

diſguiſed as a peaſant, bent his courſe, attended only by a clown not entruſted with his ſecret, and who ſerved him as a guide. He traverſed the whole of Sudermania, paſſed through Nericia and Veſtmania, and after incredible fatigues in ſo long and painful a journey, haraſſed with continual alarms, and every moment in danger of being diſcovered and arreſted, he reached thoſe mountains of Dalecarlia, called by the inhabitants Daalefield. But no ſooner had he entered the country, and halted for repoſe under the ſhadow of the pines, the only trees which this cold region produces, than he perceived himſelf abandoned by his guide, who had taken that opportunity to rob him of all the money which he had provided for his ſubſiſtence, and had fled. Thus he found himſelf bewildered in theſe deſolate mountains, in the midſt of ſavage beaſts and as ſavage men, alone, deſtitute of money or credit, and not daring to make himſelf known without expoſing himſelf to certain deſtruction.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

IN this extremity, in order to prevent periſhing by hunger, and to be hid from obſervation, he was compelled to hire himſelf as a day labourer, and was employed by his maſter to work in the copper mines, from whoſe produce the people of that canton drew their principal ſubſiſtence. He deſcended into thoſe ſubterranean deeps with his fellow-workmen, and buried beneath the mountains, earned his hard bread by daily inceſſant labours, to which he had been ſo utterly unaccuſtomed. He flattered himſelf, however, amidſt all the miſeries of his preſent condition, that here he muſt be effectually concealed, and that no man would ever think of ſearching for the general of the Swediſh cavalry in that diſmal and ſubterraneous abode. But he ſoon experienced, that he was not ſo perfectly ſafe from diſcovery, as his diſguiſe and deep concealment promiſed. The poor woman with whom he lodged, accidently diſcovered one day beneath his peaſant's cloaths, an underwaiſt-

coat of ſilk, embroidered with gold. It were hard for a woman to keep a ſecret. The news ſpread rapidly from the mines to the adjacent village, and coming to the ears of the gentleman to whom the chief property belonged, it excited greatly his curioſity to ſee this ſtranger, whoſe graceful perſon was ſpoken of with admiration, and whom he immediately ſuſpected, under the diſguiſe he bore, could be no other than one of the unhappy nobles, who had fled from the fatal proſcription. With the generous intention of offering his houſe for an aſylum, and contributing to his ſafety and relief, he deſcended into the mine and inquired for the ſtranger: But how great was his ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment, when he beheld approaching him, that very Guſtavus with whom he had ſpent many years of his youth, at the univerſity of Upſal! Concealing the ſtrong emotions with which his mind was agitated, at ſeeing this noble Swede reduced to a ſtate ſo pitiable, and fearing that any particular notice might expoſe him to diſcovery, he affected utter ignorance, and left him without the leaſt apparent attention; but no ſooner was he returned to his

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own houſe, than he diſpatched a ſecret meſſenger to Guſtavus, deſiring that he would come to him without delay.

Guſtavus, not without ſome uneaſineſs, heard and obeyed the ſummons; being introduced to the gentleman of the houſe, he led him aſide, and in the moſt obliging manner told him, that it was impoſſible a man of his birth and merit could be hid, even in the mines of Dalecarlia. With the moſt engaging politeneſs and affectionate cordiality, he preſſed him to make his houſe the place of his retreat, where he aſſured him he ſhould be as effectually concealed and more comfortably accommodated, than in the caverns from which he had aſcended; and in the firſt fervours of compaſſion and zeal, he engaged to arm his friends and vaſſals for his protection, if the Danes preſumed to make any attempt upon his perſon whilſt under his roof.

Guſtavus embraced the offer of his hoſt, with tranſports of joy and acknowledgment. The firſt days he paſſed with him, he ſeemed to entertain no other wiſh or deſign but to lie undiſcovered from the purſuit of his enemies; but he endeavoured in the mean time

to inform himſelf what force the province could raiſe, and to diſcover the diſpoſition of the inhabitants with regard to the new government to which they had ſubmitted.

The gentleman informed him, that the Dalecarlians ſuffered with much impatience their ſubjection to the Danes, and loudly murmured throughout the province, againſt certain taxes that Chriſtiern had impoſed; which, though in themſelves trivial and of inconſiderable value, appeared to them, becauſe new, exceſſive and intolerable; that the people univerſally deteſted the cruelty and inhumanity of the King of Denmark; and he doubted not would riſe of themſelves to reſiſt, ſhould he add any farther infringement of their privileges. He boaſted, with an air of ſatisfaction natural to a Dalecarlian, the numerous forces they could raiſe; that his province alone could ſend into the field more than twenty thouſand men completely armed; that every peaſant there was born a ſoldier, and that in their own mountains they could defy and defeat all the forces of Denmark.

Such diſcourſes repeated in different converſations on the ſubject, determined Guſtavus

to

to attempt an inſurrection. He opened his intentions to his hoſt, and conjured him to enter into the deſign and to take a noble ſhare in the enterpriſe. He repreſented to him, that the kingdom was ſunk into an abyſs of miſeries; that neither the faith of treaties, nor the ſubmiſſion of the people, produced any change in the ſanguinary ſpirit of Chriſtiern; that this barbarous monarch ſeemed to have bound himſelf, on oath, to extirpate every nobleman in Sweden; that the maſſacre of Stockholm was but the prelude of the tragedy which his troops were acting in every province of the kingdom; that every day brought freſh tidings of ſome gentleman inhumanly murdered; and that he muſt expect at laſt, as the companions of Ulyſſes in the den of Polypheme, to ſhare the common lot. It would, therefore, more become a man of ſpirit, and be attended with greater certainty of ſucceſs, to prevent the dreaded evil, and ſurpriſe the Danes in their ſecurity, than as cowards wait their approach, and have their throats cut, unreſiſting in the preſence of their families.

But that gentleman, whoſe words had been ſo valorous when the danger was diſtant, took

fright at the idea of embarking himſelf in ſo perilous an enterpriſe. "Where," ſaid he to Guſtavus, "are the forces neceſſary to ſupport ſo great an undertaking? What army have you to oppoſe to the formidable power of our enemies? Hitherto they have reſpected our privileges; but on the firſt riſing we attempt, may we not expect to ſee the province abandoned to deſolation, our villages unpeopled, and our houſes in flames?"

Fear had made this doughty champion forget all his boaſts of the forces of the province and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. He had now a thouſand arguments to produce in contradiction to the former tenour of his diſcourſes, and with warmth enlarged upon the political wiſdom of his views, to engage Guſtavus to change his deſign. He wiſhed to perſuade him, that he wanted no affection to his perſon, and fain would juſtify himſelf from every ſuſpicion of want of courage or zeal for his country, though he declined taking a part in this enterpriſe.

But when he perceived Guſtavus determinately fixed on taking arms, and declaring againſt the Danes, he urged him at leaſt for a while

while to defer the attempt, as he pretended to foretell that the hour was near when the peaſants would infallibly revolt of themſelves; that little intereſted in the fate of the nobility, whom they were ready to look upon as ſevere maſters, their death and ſufferings at Stockholm had excited only a tranſient compaſſion; but the moment the Danes attempted to infringe their privileges, he doubted not, they would rouſe up to defend them; that the troops of Chriſtiern, who had with impunity ravaged and exhauſted the other provinces, would not fail ſhortly to viſit Dalecarlia, and exerciſe their accuſtomed plundering; that then, their own immediate intereſts being at ſtake, the peaſants would inſtantly riſe in arms. He adviſed Guſtavus therefore to wait quietly in his houſe the ripening of the people's diſcontent, and leave to others of greater temerity in theſe dangerous exploits, the glory and peril of being the firſt authors of the revolt; ſuggeſting to him, that from whatever quarter the ſtorm ſhould ariſe, he might reſt aſſured that his birth and eſtabliſhed merit would ſecure him the command, whenever it became proper for him to ap-

pear; whilſt too great precipitation might ruin all his ſchemes, and inſtead of being the avenger and deliverer of his country, he would only furniſh, by an unſucceſsful attempt, a freſh pretext to the Danes for the utter deſtruction of himſelf and the kingdom.

Guſtavus clearly diſcerned there was in this advice more of timidity than real prudence. The puſillanimity of his hoſt excited rather his pity than his indignation: He entertained no ſuſpicion of his favouring the Danes, or being capable of betraying him. He concluded from the whole of his manner that he was rather inclined for the enterpriſe than otherwiſe, but dared not give his conſent, for fear of engaging himſelf too deeply in the conſequences.

Guſtavus therefore contented himſelf with enjoining him ſecreſy; and judging that a longer abode at his houſe might give him cauſe of uneaſineſs, he ſhortly after took his leave, and departed at night the better to conceal his line of march. Alone, and penetrating the thick woods, he travelled ſeveral days, till he arrived at the houſe of a gentleman, whoſe name was Peterſon, whom he had known in the

the army, and he flattered himſelf that he ſhould find in him a man of greater courage and reſolution.

This gentleman received him with the moſt perfect cordiality, and ſhewed him all thoſe marks of deference and reſpect, which are ſo pleaſing to greatneſs in diſtreſs. He appeared moſt deeply affected with the misfortunes of Guſtavus; profeſſed his deteſtation of the tyranny of the Danes; and on the firſt overture made to him, ſome few days after, to raiſe a party, and put his vaſſals under arms, he ſeemed to enter with zeal into the propoſition.

Guſtavus was tranſported with joy to find yet one Swede, whoſe generous heart felt attachment to his fortune, and who dared to avow it: He omitted no careſſes that might influence, nor proſpects of rewards which might confirm him in his reſolution; and received from Peterſon every aſſurance of inviolable fidelity. He named even the gentlemen of the diſtrict, and the principal perſons among the peaſants, whom he pretended he could engage in their party; and a few days after, he left home, in order, as he ſaid, to go round and ſecure them in his intereſts.

But

But alas! under theſe moſt ſpecious appearances of zeal and affection for the noble Swede, this perfidious Dalecarlian concealed the blackeſt treaſon. The proſpect of making his court to the new king, and the expectation of the promiſed rewards, determined him to betray his gueſt to the Danes. He went directly to an officer of Chriſtiern's in that neighbourhood, and diſcovered to him the retreat of Guſtavus. This man, informed that he was now in the very houſe of Peterſon, poſted with the utmoſt diligence the next morning to arreſt him: He inveſted the houſe with a party of ſoldiers; and, ſtationing himſelf at the principal door which the traitor had opened to him, he made no doubt of being inſtantly poſſeſſed of the perſon of Guſtavus; but, *the prey was taken from the mighty.*

The night preceding, this nobleman had happily eſcaped from the ſnare; and for his ſafety was wholly indebted to the wife of Peterſon himſelf. That lady, whoſe ſoul breathed generoſity, touched with compaſſion, and perhaps with a ſenſibility of a more tender kind, diſcovered to Guſtavus the baſe deſigns

of her huſband; and putting him into hands of a faithful domeſtic when night approached, ordered the ſervant to conduct him to the miniſter of the pariſh, her particular friend. By this ſtep, and the fidelity of the domeſtic who kept the ſecret inviolable, the traitor and his Daniſh aſſociates, loſt every trace of Guſtavus.

CHAP. VII.

THE reverend paſtor received Guſtavus with all that reſpect and deference which was due to the dignity of his gueſt, as well as to the recommendation of the lady who had committed ſo precious a depoſit to his care. He was a man full of zeal for his country, who neither aſpired to the ſuperior dignities of the church, nor followed the party or maxims of the clergy. He aſſured Guſtavus of his inviolable ſecreſy; and leſt the domeſtic, under whoſe conduct he arrived thither, ſhould prove either indiſcreet or unfaithful, he introduced Guſtavus into the church, and con-

concealed him in a veſtry to which he alone had acceſs, and always kept the key.

Every day he viſited his noble gueſt, and in the converſations which paſſed between them, inſenſibly contracted that ſtrong attachment to his perſon, with which Guſtavus uſually inſpired thoſe who were admitted to his familiarity. He entered with patriotic ardour into his deſigns, and aſſured him he would not fail to procure him friends in his own village, and in all the country around, wherever he had connexions or acquaintance; but he adviſed him by no means to have any more recourſe to, or place any confidence in the nobility of the province. He made him ſenſible that the gentlemen of Dalecarlia, content in their mountains, where they lived in ſecurity and independence, cared very little what paſſed at court, nor intereſted themſelves about the good of the nation; that it was always with great reluctance they armed their vaſſals, for as the peaſants conſtituted their chief riches, they feared to loſe them in the wars, or found them on their return from the army leſs tractable, and more diſpoſed to revolt againſt their maſters. It would

would therefore be the wiſeſt ſtep to addreſs himſelf directly to the peaſants; ſince, if they roſe in arms, and declared in his favour on their own motion, he would derive much more conſiderable ſupport from them, than if the villages were merely engaged by the authority of their particular lords.

In purſuance of this deſign, it was agreed to diſpoſe the people by inſenſible degrees, to be ripe for revolt, by ſpreading abroad intelligence, that the Danes were on the point of entering the province in arms to levy new impoſts. This charge his reverend hoſt undertook, and by his numerous connexions and relations through the diſtrict, this dreaded news was ſoon in every mouth, and filled every peaſant's breaſt with the deſired emotions. He adviſed Guſtavus now without delay to depart for Mora, a very populous pariſh, in circuit not leſs than twelve Swediſh leagues. There every year at Chriſtmas-tide, an extraordinary aſſembly was held of all the peaſants of the neighbouring villages; nor could there be a conjuncture more advantageous to carry his deſigns into execution. He ſuggeſted ſenſibly, that the people never felt themſelves more

more bold and ready to revolt, than when their collected numbers made them conſcious of their own ſtrength. He promiſed previouſly to prepoſſeſs them in favour of Guſtavus, and ſecure the principal people of the pariſh in his intereſt, ſo that his perſon might be ſecure from danger, even though he ſhould not be able to determine them on the ſpot to take arms and begin the inſurrection.

In correſpondence with this advice, on the day appointed, Guſtavus arrived at Mora. He found the fame of his coming had flown before him, and the peaſants waiting with impatience to behold the man ſo illuſtrious by his birth and his valour, and more diſtinguiſhed by the perſecutions of Chriſtiern and the favour of Stenon. In order to engage the attention of the people, always ſtruck with the exterior marks of grandeur, he had dreſſed himſelf with a magnificence correſponding with his former ſtation, and advancing into the midſt of that aſſembly, with an air of dignity, ſoftened by the ſorrow which appeared on his countenance for the death of his father and noble countrymen, he attracted

at

at once the reſpect and compaſſion of the admiring multitude.

In the moſt forcible and affecting manner, he deſcribed to them the accumulated miſeries of their country; the death of the ſenators and principal nobility maſſacred by the orders of the inhuman Chriſtiern; the magiſtrates and citizens of Stockholm mercileſsly ſlaughtered in cold blood; the troops diſperſed throughout the provinces, every day commiting the moſt unheard of ravages and cruelties; the tyrant ſeemingly reſolved to ſecure his deſpotic power, by the death of every man capable of defending the liberty of his country. He added, every creature knew how thoroughly Chriſtiern hated the Dalecarlians, whoſe valour and courage he had proved under the reign of the laſt adminiſtrator; they were too formidable not to be feared by a prince ſo perfidious and cruel: Under pretence of taking up their winter quarters among them, the Daniſh troops were now ready to enter their province to diſarm them; in a very few days they would ſee their bloodthirſty enemies maſters of their villages, and inſolently diſpoſing, at their pleaſure, of their lives

lives and liberties, if they did not immediately prevent them by one generous reſolution. Their fathers and anceſtors had ever preferred liberty to life. The eyes of all Sweden were fixed upon them, expecting they would march in the ſame glorious foot-ſteps, inheritors of the hatred which they had ever ſhown againſt all foreign rule. He ſtood before them, offering his own life and fortune in defence of their liberties. His friends, and every countryman worthy the name of a Swede, would join them on the firſt tidings of their riſing. He aſſured them, beſides, of conſiderable ſuccours ready to be poured in from the ancient allies of Sweden; but even ſhould the Danes outnumber them, they were abundantly more than a match for their enemies, having the blood of their countrymen to avenge, and their own lives and families to defend. For his own part, he had rather die as a brave man, ſword in hand, than, as a coward, meanly ſubmit to an enemy ſo perfidious and cruel.

Fired by his diſcourſe, the Dalecarlians rent the air with cries and ſhouts, full of fury and menaces againſt Chriſtiern and all the Danes.

Danes. It ſeemed as if now, for the firſt time, they had heard of the maſſacre of Stockholm: So powerfully had the words and preſence of of Guſtavus penetrated their hearts with grief and reſentment, they ſolemnly ſwore they would avenge the death of their murdered countrymen. Inſtantly their reſolution was taken no longer to acknowledge Chriſtiern as their king, and to put every Dane, without exception, to the ſword, on whom they could lay their hands.

There were, indeed, ſome of the peaſants who oppoſed this ſudden determination, under pretext of conferring firſt with the other villages, whether gained by the Danes, or prudentially fearing the conſequences of irritating a prince ſo mighty and victorious as Chriſtiern; but the general voice of the aſſembly, with rage and indignation, rejected ſo timid a propoſal. The moſt violent ſpirits, and they who declared loudeſt for war, were heard with general acclamations of applauſe. Every man ſeized his arms, and Guſtavus, by univerſal ſuffrage, was entreated to command them; charmed with his graceful figure, and full of admiration at his elevated and well-proportioned

tioned ſtature, and the manly vigour of his perſon.

But nothing ſerved more powerfully to fix their determination, and engage them confidently to follow this noble Swede, than the obſervation of the old men of the village, who remarked, that the north wind had continued to blow during the whole time he was ſpeaking. This was eſteemed, among theſe ſuperſtitious boors, an infallible omen of ſucceſs; to deliberate longer would have been, in their ideas, impious, as reſiſting the ordinances of heaven, which had declared ſo viſibly in favour of Guſtavus. They therefore on the ſpot formed a body of four hundred men, and chuſing ſixteen of the beſt made and the firſt families, preſented them to their commander as his body guard, and the mark of that dignity which they had juſt conferred upon him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

GUSTAVUS, eager to improve their zealous ardour for the cauſe, led his new formed troops againſt the governor of the province. It was highly his intereſt to be before hand with the governor, and diſable him from oppoſing the revolt of the other villages; with this view he divided his troops into ſeveral detachments, the better to conceal his march and deſign, and under favour of the woods and the darkneſs of the night, arrived ſecretly at the foot of the caſtle, where the governor kept his court, with all his Dalecarlians, who had joined him by ſeveral routs.

The darkneſs and ſurpriſe of ſo unexpected an attack favoured the enterpriſe. The caſtle was carried by eſcalade; the Daniſh ſoldiers who formed the governor's guard, and his domeſtics who were in arms, were ſacrificed to the firſt fury of the Dalecarlians. Guſtavus, with difficulty, reſcued the governor himſelf from the ſword, who did penance in a priſon for his imprudence, in reſiding in a place

place of conqueſt and among ſo ferocious a people, without a garriſon ſufficient to ſecure his perſon and dignity. The commander abandoned all that was found in the caſtle to be pillaged, and ſome Daniſh merchants, who under favour of the new government were come to traffick in the province, met with the ſame treatment. Their richeſt ſtuffs became the prey of the Dalecarlian peaſants, who immediately decked themſelves out in all this finery. The officers employed by Chriſtiern to collect the new impoſts were put to death. Guſtavus conniving at theſe violences, and probably not ſorry by ſuch exceſſes, to widen the breach of irreconcileable enmity between the Dalecarlians and the Danes.

Inconſiderable as this enterpriſe was, it gave the peaſants the higheſt opinion of Guſtavus, and every mouth was full of his praiſes—a tribute they were the more ready to beſtow, as every man could appeal to him as a witneſs of his own courage and zeal on this occaſion. The fame and ſucceſs of this exploit engaged almoſt the whole province immediately to riſe in his favour. The peaſants in troops

abandoned

abandoned their villages to join him; ſome eager to avenge themſelves of the Danes, others drawn with the hopes of booty, and many delighted with the mere novelty, and naturally diſpoſed to embark in any enterpriſe that ſtruck them, as daring and ſingular.

Several Swediſh gentlemen, and among the reſt, Olaus, Laurens, Erici, Fredage, and Jonas of Nederbi, all proſcribed by Chriſtiern, and refugees in this province like Guſtavus, no ſooner heard of the inſurrection than they flew to his army as their aſylum; and ſerved him moſt eſſentially in training that militia, who had been accuſtomed to fight with greater impetuoſity than order.

He overran, with the utmoſt diligence, Helſingland, Medelpadia, Angermanland, Geſterland, and Bothnia; and, uniting theſe little provinces, which are all deſtitute of any conſiderable city in the revolt, he ſecured them by fortifying the paſſes of the mountains which are their principal fortreſſes.

His army every day became more numerous and reſpectable, by the crouds of peaſants, who, in defiance of reſtraint from their lordly

maſters, ran to enliſt under his banners. He aboliſhed the new taxes which Chriſtiern had impoſed, eſtabliſhed commiſſaries to receive the ordinary tributes which were deſtined for the ſubſiſtence of the troops, and diſpatched ſecret emiſſaries through the kingdom to diſpoſe the nobles and peaſants to be ready to join him, as ſoon as he entered their provinces. By their negotiations, he gained the chief part of the Swediſh officers who ſerved on board the fleet of Norbi, and in the troops of the viceroy; and having thus, with ſingular wiſdom and ſucceſs, contrived to ſtrengthen his own force, and to weaken his adverſaries, he prepared to enter into the heart of the kingdom, confident of ſupport from the Swedes who were in the ſervice of the prelate, as from his own Dalecarlians.

The viceroy's whole attention was engaged in the care of amaſſing wealth, and the enjoyment of his pleaſures. He had coveted the viceroyſhip merely in the confidence that he might pillage with impunity a people, whom his politic maſter wiſhed to impoveriſh and weaken. He would never have undertaken the charge of the government, had he entertained

tained an idea of any enemies to be encountered, but the diſarmed nation that could make no reſiſtance. The revolt of the Dalecarlians therefore overwhelmed him with aſtoniſhment and diſquietude. His Daniſh troops were ſhamefully enfeebled, by entire want of diſcipline, and by deſertion. The Swedes who had enliſted in his army were not to be truſted, nor could he repoſe greater confidence in the foreign mercenaries, who, in every civil war, are ready to change ſides whenever it is to their advantage. The valour of Guſtavus made him tremble, but the indignation of Chriſtiern filled him with ſtronger terrors, conſcious that in his lawleſs rage, ill ſucceſs would meet with the ſame puniſhment as criminal intentions. He diſpatched an expreſs to the king, informing him of the revolt of the northern provinces, and at the ſame time ordered all the troops diſperſed throughout the kingdom to join him without delay.

The Danes obeyed his orders, though with much regret; they were very reluctant to quit their quarters, where they enriched themſelves at the expence of the people, and com-

mitted with impunity every act of violence: But the greater part of the auxiliary troops refuſed to take the field, under pretext that their pay was in arrear, and ſeized upon the ſeveral cities and caſtles, where they were in garriſon, holding them as ſecurities for their pay, and perhaps with the intention of making a good bargain with the victorious party, rather than to defend and preſerve them for the king of Denmark.

Chriſtiern received the news of the revolt in Sweden, with the deepeſt diſquietude and vexation; he was in no condition to go into Sweden, nor could he ſpare the troops which he had in Denmark; that kingdom was alſo filled with diſcontent and diſaffection. Since the maſſacre of Stockholm, this prince more ferocious than ever, kept no meaſures with his own ſubjects. He exerciſed his deſpotic authority alike over the property and the lives of the Danes. Without reſpect of perſons or dignity, or the leaſt regard for the laws and privileges of the kingdom, he had put to death on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, and without any formalities of juſtice, ſeveral of the nobility; and mortally offended the biſhops

biſhops and the whole body of the clergy, by his public encomiums on Luther, who, after juſtly inveighing againſt the ſcandalous abuſes committed by the ſale of indulgences in Germany, had alſo ſeverely cenſured the enormous wealth and temporal power of the clergy. Unable to leave Copenhagen, nor daring to ſend any reinforcement, leſt by weakening his army at home, he ſhould be expoſed to ſome revolt, he wrote to the archbiſhop to collect his troops, and march againſt the rebels; informing Guſtavus, at the ſame time, that unleſs he laid down his arms and diſbanded his troops, he would put his mother and ſiſter to death, in the moſt excruciating torments.

Unterrified by theſe menaces, Guſtavus continued to advance, followed by his Dalecarlians. They put to the ſword without diſtinction every Dane they met, and every traitor Swede, who ſerved in the archbiſhop's army. During their march, the forces of Guſtavus increaſed every day, and he found himſelf very ſhortly at the head of fifteen thouſand men, fired with reſentment and animated with courage, determined to conquer or die. Their rout lay through Veſtmania; the viceroy at

head of his army, advanced to the river Brunebec, intending to ſtop their progreſs, and diſpute the paſſage of the river; but ſcarce had he reached the banks of the river, before Guſtavus appeared on the oppoſite ſide at the head of his cavalry, ready to attempt the paſſage, ſword in hand. The viceroy no ſooner perceived the reſolution of that nobleman, and ſaw the determined countenance of his troops, than he retired with the greateſt precipitation, and cowardly abandoned a poſt, which he might have diſputed with advantage. Whether ſenſible of his own incapacity for the command, or ſuſpicious of the fidelity of the Swedes, who formed a conſiderable body of his army, he retreated at firſt to the adjoining caſtle of Veſteras; but, not thinking himſelf ſafe ſo near to Guſtavus, and dreading being beſieged in that fortreſs, he left there the flower of his troops to defend it, and, returning to Stockholm, ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of that city, abandoning himſelf wholly to the enjoyment of his pleaſures; as if, by hiding himſelf, and cloſing his ears againſt all bad news, he could ſtop the progreſs of his enemies.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus failed not to take advantage of his retreat. He threw a bridge over the river; his troops paſſed unmoleſted, and marched directly to Veſteras, the capital of Veſtmania. To leave a place of that importance in his rear, or to form a ſiege, which might ſtop the progreſs of his arms, ſeemed equally dangerous. The garriſon was numerous and well provided; himſelf deſtitute of powder and cannon, and every neceſſary; his troops compoſed of peaſants who had never ſeen a ſiege, the length and hardſhips of which might diſcourage his Dalecarlians, and ruin all his deſigns. In this dilemma, he reſolved, by ſtratagem and one bold ſtroke, to attempt an enterpriſe eſteemed impracticable by all the eſtabliſhed rules of war. He detached his cavalry, under the command of his lieutenant Erici, with orders under covert of the woods, to advance as near as poſſible to the gates of the city; his other lieutenant, Olaus, he left with the principal part of the infantry, behind a mountain near the village of Ballunga, commanding him to follow ſlowly, whilſt he himſelf advanced with the remainder, conſiſting

of three thouſand men, as if theſe had formed the whole of his army.

He arrived in ſight of Veſteras in the evening, and began to entrench himſelf with all the diligence and precautions of a general, who ſeemed to apprehend being attacked, and wiſhed to avoid a battle. The Danes perceiving the ſmall number of his troops, detached all their cavalry, as he had promiſed himſelf they would, to attack him. After ſome ſlight reſiſtance, Guſtavus retreated, defending himſelf to gain the defiles of the mountains, and draw his enemies unperceived into the body of his infantry, who were advancing to ſupport him. The Danes, miſconſtruing this retreat into a flight and total defeat, tumultuouſly ruſhed out of the city to have a part in the purſuit of their enemy, panic ſtruck as they thought, and in confuſion; only the Swediſh troops in their pay remained behind, and the Daniſh garriſon of the caſtle, whom the governor prudently would not permit to ſally forth.

Guſtavus, retiring till he had drawn the Danes to a ſufficient diſtance from the city to give

give time for Erici to execute his orders, halted. The body of his infantry having joined him, he drew his ſword; and, turning to his Delecarlians, with a look that breathed vengeance for the death of his father—"Follow me, my friends," he cried, "remember the avarice and cruelty of our tyrants; nothing now remains for us but conqueſt or death."

The Dalecarlians echoed back his words, "conqueſt or death!" with cries and ſhouts that breathed fury and vengeance. A ſhower of arrows inſtantly ſtopped the purſuit of the Danes; the Dalecarlians cloſed with their enemies ſword in hand, and ruſhing into the thickeſt battalions, covered the earth with the dead. The battle on both ſides was diſputed with that rage and obſtinacy, that marked the ſpirit of rival nations and inveterate enemies, contending for empire and liberty.

Guſtavus was ſeen in every part of the field; and whilſt he charged the enemy as the meaneſt ſoldier, he gave out his orders with that preſence of mind, ſo uncommon but ſo neceſſary on theſe great occaſions. Long had the battle laſted, maintained with dauntleſs courage on either ſide; but (as experience

generally hath ſhown, that a revolting people driven to arms for the recovery of their liberty riſe in the patriotic ardour of their ſpirit ſuperior to their oppreſſors) the Swedes continued to make ſuch aſtoniſhing efforts, that the Danes were at length compelled to give way, and attempt to regain the walls of Veſteras. They were retreating, however, in good order, and unbroken; when lo! they perceived their retreat intercepted, and charged by the cavalry under Erici. The battle was renewed with greater fury than before. Attacked in front and rear, the Danes, unable to eſcape, derived courage from deſpair. Hope of life they had none, but they reſolved their enemies ſhould purchaſe their victory with blood; deſpairing to defend themſelves, they ſought only the conſolation of falling on the dead bodies of their conquerors. The greater part of the Danes were cut in pieces on the ſpot; few priſoners were taken; pitileſs and inveterate, the Dalecarlians gave no quarter, nor could their officers reſtrain their fury.

The cavalry of Erici purſued ſo cloſe on the heels of the fugitives, that they entered with them into Veſteras, favoured by the

Swedes,

Swedes, who remained in the city, and ſeized the firſt moment which offered to declare for Guſtavus. But no ſooner had the Dalecarlians entered the gates, than under favour of the night they diſbanded, and ruſhing confuſedly on to pillage, their officers could neither reſtrain them, nor collect a ſufficient body to ſtation the neceſſary guards, or take the precautions required to ſecure their conqueſt. The peaſants in crouds burſt into the merchants houſes, ſeizing the caſks of wine and brandy, eager only who ſhould drink the deepeſt of this delicious beverage. The Dalecarlians, under the command of Guſtavus, appriſed that their companions were thus ſolacing themſelves in the delights of flowing brandy, abandoned their colours, and in defiance of all remonſtrances of their officers, determined to have their ſhare of that nectarean juice, which is the prevailing paſſion, and conſtitutes the ſupreme enjoyment of the people of the north.

The Daniſh governor of the caſtle quickly perceived the tumultuous ſcene, and ſallied forth at the head of his garriſon to charge the diſperſed Dalecarlians. To increaſe their con-

fuſion, he ordered the ſoldiers to ſet fire to the houſes; and, entering into the ſtreets of the city, ſword in hand, they ſlew a multitude of theſe peaſants, drunk, unarmed, and incapable of reſiſtance.

Guſtavus, informed of this diſorder, ran into the city; and, in deſpair, beheld his ſoldiers maſſacred in his preſence, and none to be found in a condition to make a ſtand. He commanded Olaus, with the few officers and volunteers he could collect around him, to barricade themſelves in the principal ſtreet, whilſt he ran to ſtop the pillagers, and aſſemble the troops, which ſeemed to have vaniſhed out of ſight. The generality of theſe drunken brutes, hid in vaults and cellars, drenched with wine or ſtaggering with brandy, fled alike from their officers as their enemies. Guſtavus, followed by ſome of his guards, deſcended into the vaults, ſtaved the caſks, and ſpilt theſe fatal liquors; and by theſe precautions, which the Dalecarlians regarded as moſt grievous and ſevere, ſcarce could he drag them from theſe enchanting abodes: With ſuch as he collected, however, he repulſed the garriſon, and compelled them to retire

retire again into the caſtle, more by the terror of his preſence, than by the arms of his ſoldiers.

The next day he contrived to ſound the governor of the caſtle, and endeavour to engage him in a treaty for the ſurrender of the place; but he found him firm and immovable. He was obliged therefore to reſt content with forming the blockade of the fortreſs, unwilling to hazard an attack, that, if unſucceſsful, would diſcourage his troops, or to wait a regular ſiege, leſt the Danes ſhould have time to recover from their firſt impreſſions of terror. He therefore only drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation about the caſtle, to prevent all ſallies and the admiſſion of ſuccours into the place. To haſten the work himſelf, he firſt took a pick-axe to remove the earth, and ſeconded by the officers of his army, ſuch an emulation was raiſed in the ſoldiers and citizens, that in many places ramparts were raiſed four and twenty foot high, within the ſpace of two days.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THE neceſſary precautions being taken to prevent any ſuccours entering the caſtle, Guſtavus again took the field. He was met by a great number of nobles and gentlemen, at the head of their vaſſals, and ſeventy Swediſh officers in a party abandoned the archbiſhop and joined him on the march. Theſe happy beginnings augured ſome grand revolution: The capture of Veſteras ſeemed the ſignal agreed upon for a general revolt. Arvide, a conſiderable nobleman in Weſt Gothland; Laurens Petri, of Sudermania; Olaus Bond, of Nericia, waited upon him with aſſurances, that the nobility and people of their provinces only waited his preſence to take arms and declare themſelves in his favour. Even thoſe who, through an exceſs of timidity, or being in the vicinage of the Danes, were more ſubject to reſtraint, ſecretly ſent him money and intelligence. The eyes of the nation were univerſally directed to him: His own merit and the ſeverity of the Daniſh government,

vernment, united the wiſhes and engaged the prayers of every Swede in his favour.

Guſtavus ſeeing himſelf at the head of ſo numerous an army, and a party ſo powerful, reſolved to undertake ſeveral enterpriſes at the ſame time, that the fame of his conqueſts might draw all the people to eſpouſe his intereſts, and embarraſs the Danes by dividing their attention. He ſent back, therefore, the noblemen into their ſeveral provinces, accompanied with detachments of his army, to excite and ſupport the inſurrection of the people. Arvide, by his order, beſieged the caſtle of Vadeſtene in eaſtern Gothland; Laurens Petri, the city of Nicopinck; and Olaus Bond, Orebo, the capital of Nericia; whilſt Olai and Erici ſat down before Upſal. The place was very extenſive and populous, but almoſt deſtitute of walls or fortifications, except ſome antient towers towards the archiepiſcopal palace. The archbiſhop, who was the feudal lord, had placed there ſome troops and a governor, rather to let the inhabitants ſee that he did not abandon them, than as entertaining any hope of preſerving the city, ſhould it be attacked. Indeed the ſoldiers of

the garriſon no ſooner perceived the Dalecarlians ſword in hand deſcending into the ditch and ready to mount the ramparts, than they fired one volley and abandoned their poſts. The Dalecarlians entered without farther reſiſtance; and warned by what had befallen them at the capture of Veſteras, they purſued the Danes without ſtaying to pillage. The greater part of the garriſon was cut in pieces, and the governor ſhot with an arrow, died of his wounds a few days after.

Guſtavus informed that his troops were in poſſeſſion of Upſal, haſted thither without delay, He took particular care of the palace of the archbiſhop, and all his other property; whether to render him ſuſpected thereby to the Danes, or to gain him to his own party. From Upſal he diſpatched an officer to the conſul of Lubec, with intelligence of his happy ſucceſs, and to remind him of the ſuccours which he had given him reaſon to expect. This agent repreſented to that magiſtrate, how much it was the intereſt of that republic, as well as of all the other Hans towns, that Sweden ſhould be ever ſeparate from and inimical to Denmark;

mark—that the regency of Lubec could never hope for ſo favourable an opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing the affairs of that kingdom—that Guſtavus was already in poſſeſſion of many vaſt provinces—that theſe conqueſts he had gained at the head of the Dalecarlians: But that theſe were peaſants, who, ſerving without pay, were under no manner of obligation—that they muſt know, that the people who begin an inſurrection, and enter into the war with the greateſt ardour, uſually grow tired of it the ſooneſt—that his maſter wanted a fleet to beſiege Stockholm, and the maritime cities, and ſome regular troops to carry on the war—and that his commander hoped with ſuch ſuccours, to expel the Danes compleatly out of Sweden.

The conſul of Lubec repreſented theſe demands to the regency; but theſe republicans ſuppoſed their intereſts had changed with the ſucceſs of Guſtavus. The rapidity of his conqueſts, his courage, and elevated genius, began to diſquiet them; whilſt Chriſtiern, who by his violent conduct had alienated the affection of his ſubjects, ceaſed to be an object of terror. The agent of Guſtavus, therefore,

therefore, made a very ſlow progreſs in his negotiation. Happily for Sweden, he met at Lubec, an old German colonel, called John of Paſſi, one of thoſe adventurers who make war their trade, and are always ready to expoſe their lives for pay, without troubling themſelves on which ſide they fight. With him the envoy of Guſtavus entered into treaty; and, on conſideration of a ſum of money to be paid him, and the preſent neceſſary advances to put his troops in motion, he engaged before the end of Auguſt to land in Sweden, at the head of twelve hundred men. Intelligence of this was diſpatched to Guſtavus, who commanded his agent to continue at Lubec, to try if he could engage the regency to declare in his favour; intimating to him, that he clearly perceived he ſhould not have had ſuch difficulties in the negotiation, if his conqueſts had been leſs rapid, and the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe more dubious.

CHAP

CHAP. X.

HITHERTO ſucceſs had crowned the attempts of Guſtavus, even beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations. He found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army; one half of the kingdom had already ſubmitted, and the other waited only his approach to declare themſelves for him; when, in the midſt of all his conqueſts, he ſaw himſelf abandoned at a ſtroke by the greateſt part of his troops. The peaſants demanded leave of abſence to return into their provinces during the time of harveſt; and, notwithſtanding the urgent neceſſity of his affairs, Guſtavus could not poſſibly refuſe the requiſition of men who ſerved him as volunteers, and to whom he was indebted for all his authority; he conſented therefore with the beſt grace imaginable to their departure, receiving their word of honour that they would return in greater numbers after harveſt, and reſerved only for his own guard and the ſecurity of Upſal, one ſquadron of horſe, and about ſix hundred infantry, chiefly Dalecarlians, who, attached

to

to his perſon and fortune, determined never to abandon him.

He continued at Upſal as the centre of his conqueſts; ſent his orders to the provinces which had declared in his favour, and to thoſe where his lieutenants were ſtill advancing; and endeavoured by ſecret negotiations to diſunite his enemies, whilſt he waited the return of his troops to be in a ſituation to reduce them by force of arms.

The archbiſhop of Upſal was of all others the moſt formidable, by the number of his vaſſals and partiſans. He was the chief ſupport of Chriſtiern, by the credit of his family connexions, and by the authority he poſſeſſed over the clergy. He wrote into all the provinces, and ſet at work every where his relations and friends, to retain the people under obedience to the king of Denmark. In the perſon of this prelate, Guſtavus encountered a vigilant and formidable enemy, who alone gave him more trouble than all the Danes together. He employed therefore his utmoſt efforts to detach the archbiſhop from their party.

There

There were at Upſal two canons of the cathedral, who flattered themſelves they had much weight and influence with that prelate: Them Guſtavus gained, and giving them in public a ſafe conduct, under pretence that they deſired to retire to the archbiſhop, he ſecretly entruſted them with a letter for him, the moſt ſubmiſſive and reſpectful, and couched in ſuch terms, as might moſt effectually flatter the haughty and oſtentatious humour of that prelate. He humbly conjured him in the letter, no longer to oppoſe the liberty of his country: He offered with the beſt grace imaginable, to reſtore Upſal and all his poſſeſſions untouched, if he would condeſcend to join them, and be himſelf their head and director; aſſuring him, that all his friends would with delight receive his commands; and that for himſelf, he had no higher ambition than to obey his counſels, and execute his orders.

The two canons having reached Stockholm, preſented Guſtavus's letter to the archbiſhop, and ventured ſome commendations on his moderation, in order to feel the inclinations of their prelate; but the archbiſhop rejected

jected the letter and their officiouſneſs, with the utmoſt contempt and indignation: Fearing leaſt the Danes ſhould entertain a ſuſpicion of his having for a moment hearkened to theſe propoſitions, he carried the letter to the viceroy immediately, and delivered up to him the two canons who had brought it, demanding their execution as ſpies and traitors.

The viceroy, who only ſhed the blood of his enemies when they were incapable of reſiſtance, would have made no great difficulty in giving him this ſatisfaction; but he was afraid of offending the clergy who were almoſt the only ſupport of the Daniſh cauſe; and perhaps ſuppoſed that the archbiſhop's earneſtneſs for their execution, aroſe merely from the deſire of removing from himſelf all ſuſpicion of his entertaining the leaſt intelligence with Guſtavus. Beſides, terrified at the danger before them, theſe eccleſiaſtics proteſted ſolemnly, that it was merely to obtain a ſafe conduct and eſcape out of Upſal, they had taken charge of the letter. They expreſſed the greateſt deteſtation of the rebellion of Guſtavus, and vowed the moſt inviolable

fidelity

fidelity to Chriſtiern as their true and lawful ſovereign; and completely to juſtify themſelves, and appeaſe the viceroy and archbiſhop, they gave them information that the peaſants had abandoned Guſtavus; adding an account of the defenceleſs ſtate of the city, and of the diminutive number of his forces, exaggerated as deſerters uſually do, in order to make their court, and obtain a more favourable reception.

The archbiſhop, on this diſcovery, eagerly preſſed the viceroy to furniſh him with troops, in order to ſurpriſe Guſtavus in Upſal; engaging either to bring him bound to his feet, or to drive him once more to ſeek refuge in the mountains of Dalecarlia. The viceroy immediately drew out three thouſand infantry, and five hundred horſe, the beſt part of the garriſon of Stockholm; and ſo expeditious and ſecret was the march of the archbiſhop, that he had very nearly ſurpriſed Guſtavus in Upſal. Only two hours before the archbiſhop's arrival, had he the leaſt intelligence of his approach. Two Swediſh gentlemen of the archbiſhop's party, whom Guſtavus had

ſecretly

ſecretly gained, deſerted, and with the utmoſt ſpeed flew to advertiſe him of the danger.

The city being vaſt in extent, and open on every ſide, and the inhabitants attached to the archbiſhop, who was their feudal lord, Guſtavus dared not with the few troops that were with him, attempt to defend the place; he ordered therefore his infantry to file off toward the foreſt of Noſton, bringing up the rear with his body guard, and a company of cavalry to cover their march. Scarce had he quitted the city before the archbiſhop entered it at the head of his troops, and perceiving the retreat of Guſtavus, puſhed him with all his cavalry. The Danes overtook him at the ford of Lateby. The infantry already in a fright at the precipitancy of the retreat, diſbanded in ſight of their enemies, and his horſe, though reſtrained by his preſence, diſcovered manifeſt trepidation—all preſſed eagerly to gain the foreſt. In this diſorder, his equery, carried away by a reſty horſe, plunging, fell upon him, and overthrew him in the water. His guards inſtantly remounted him. Unconcerned at the peril to which he had been expoſed, as undiſmayed

at

at the number of his enemies, Guſtavus ſtood firm at the head of his ſquadron. This brave man diſtinguiſhed by his advantageous ſtature, and the intrepidity of his countenance, ſuſtained almoſt alone at that paſs the whole effort of the Daniſh troops, whilſt his own gained the foreſt; and when he perceived their retreat ſecure, he retired himſelf, in defiance of the multitudes who preſſed upon him. Ten or a dozen horſe only were miſſing on this occaſion; and this was the whole of the archbiſhop's triumph, where the good fortune of Guſtavus ſeemed to have forſaken him, and the diſorder of his troops promiſed an eaſy and deciſive victory.

The peril, from which he had eſcaped, ſerved only to re-animate his courage, and his reſentment. In his turn he reſolved to attempt a ſurpriſe. He recalled the troops under Arvide, and ordered them to occupy the woods through which the road leads from Upſal to Stockholm. His German reinforcements under colonel Saſſi arrived, and multitudes of his friends, alarmed at the danger to which he had been expoſed, diligently joined him. The hatred they bore to Chriſtiern, and

the dread of falling again into his hands, rendered the perſon of Guſtavus invaluably precious to every Swede. In a few days this noble leader found himſelf at the head of a new army, and fit to take the field. He encamped near the caſtle of Rimning, and deeply entrenched himſelf, as if he had only the ſame forces with which he had abandoned Upſal. He took every precaution to conceal the reinforcements which had joined him; and to keep up in the archbiſhop the ſame exceſs of confidence and preſumption, with which the trivial advantage he had gained, had inſpired him.

This prelate, proud of having chaſed the noble Swede before him, returned back again towards Stockholm as Guſtavus had foreſeen. Marching with the ſame confidence as if he had led his enemy in chains, his troops fell ſuddenly into the ambuſcade. The infantry of Arvide ruſhed from the covert of the woods and charged them with horrid cries. The archbiſhop who never ſuſpected an enemy, where Guſtavus was not, ſurpriſed at this unexpected attack, attempted to return again to Upſal. There he met Guſtavus in the way, who,

who, during his march, had thrown himſelf between the city and the archbiſhop's forces. Beſet in front and rear, terror ſeized the Daniſh troops, ſome attempted to advance towards Stockholm, other hoped with more facility to gain Upſal; every man in this ſtate of diſorder ſuppoſed the reſiſtance and danger leaſt in the quarter where he was not, and every where alike met death, and their enemy. The greater number of the Danes was cut in pieces, the reſt ſought their ſafety in flight. The archbiſhop who had boaſted how ſoon he would bring back with him Guſtavus as his priſoner, with difficulty eſcaped himſelf; and ſcarce a ſixth part of the forces, with which the viceroy had entruſted him, reached Stockholm.

Guſtavus entered Upſal at the head of his victorious troops, and finding he had no farther meaſures to keep with the archbiſhop, he razed the tower, which was the ornament and defence of the archiepiſcopal palace, that the Danes might no more form a lodgment there.

CHAP. XI.

ABOUT this time the doctrines of the Reformation began to be introduced into Sweden, and among the troops of Guſtavus; where many of the German auxiliaries made profeſſion of it. The two brothers, Laurent and Olaus Petri, of the province of Nericia, ſpread the tenets of Luther with vaſt ſucceſs. They had been brought up under him, in the univerſity of Wittemberg, and carried his doctrines and writings with them into Sweden; preaching the truths which they had received with that warmth and zeal, which their eternal importance demanded, and the oppoſition, which they met from the popiſh clergy, excited.

Laurens Petri, naturally of a more timid ſpirit than his brother, diſcovered his ſentiments at firſt, indeed, with ſome reſerve and precaution; contenting himſelf with diſperſing ſecretly the books of Luther, and conferring with his particular friends on the ſubject: But Olaus of a more intrepid ſpirit, and a man of greater eloquence, preached openly the doctrines

doctrines which he had embraced in the church of Stregnez, of which he was a canon and prothonotary. In his ſermons, he boldly inveighed againſt the abuſes which the clergy and monks made of their wealth and power; and was heard with the more favourable attention, as all concurred in acknowledging that the pride and ambition of the prelates, had been the cauſe of all the miſeries of Sweden. He held conferences; ſtuck up theſes in Upſal; diſputed daily with the catholic doctors of that univerſity; and in theſe troublous times, favourable to innovations, with indefatigable aſſiduity and zeal ſpread the reformed doctrines. He gained over the greater part of the profeſſors, and the ſtudents of the univerſity, who embraced with ardour the glorious truths that had ſo long been concealed under the veil of popiſh darkneſs and ſuperſtition: They became immediately the miniſters and heralds of the doctrines they had embraced: The people heard them with avidity. The tenets of Luther paſſed rapidly from the ſchools, into private houſes; and, as muſt be expected, produced ſharp contentions. One ſide adhered

to the Roman Catholic religion, becauſe it had been the religion of their fathers, and had as they preſumed the merit of antiquity; the other complained of the horrible abuſes introduced by the clergy, their perverſion of the evangelical doctrines, their avarice, and immorality. The very women entered warmly into the diſpute, every creature in a matter of ſuch eternal conſequence, felt themſelves intereſted in the controverſy. The few biſhops remaining in Sweden ſince the maſſacre of Stockholm, more attentive to the motions of Guſtavus, than to the care of their dioceſes, were too much engaged in this world's politics to pay attention to the growing progreſs of Lutheraniſm.

Guſtavus himſelf had heard and reſpected the miniſters of reformation. His own ingenuous mind received conviction of the truths which they taught, and it was impoſſible in his ſituation, not to perceive how favourable the new doctrines were to the liberties of his country, as well as conformable to the ſpirit of truth; whatever tended to diminiſh the temporal power and exceſſive riches of the clergy, he was bound to encourage.

After

After the archbiſhop's flight, Guſtavus united the ſeveral bodies of his troops, and marched directly to Stockholm: Not that he could preſume to beſiege the place in form, having no fleet to ſhut up the port; but he wiſhed to try, whether the conſternation of the Danes at the defeat of the archbiſhop, might not afford his friends in the city an opportunity to attempt ſomething in his favour.

The viceroy and the archbiſhop, ſuſpicious of the fidelity of the citizens, and dreading to fall into the hands of Guſtavus, reſolved to ſave themſelves by flight, whilſt the port was yet open; and committing the government of the place to an ancient officer, who commanded the garriſon, they retired into Denmark, under the pretence of haſtening the ſuccours which Chriſtiern daily promiſed. In fact, that prince had made every effort to raiſe an army for the preſervation of Sweden; but the Danes affrighted at the maſſacre of Stockholm, deteſted the enterpriſe and hated his government, and refuſed him every kind of aſſiſtance, pretending that they were quite exhauſted with the continuance of the war.

Guſtavus was tranſported to hear the flight of theſe prelates. The viceroy had abandoned to him the kingdom, and the archbiſhop's retreat removed an enemy ever formidable by his influence over the clergy; and though the governor of Stockholm, by his good conduct, prevented the citizens from attempting any thing in his favour, from every other quarter he received the intelligence of the happy progreſs of his arms. The caſtles of Vadeſtene, Hova, and Sceninc ſurrendered; and on the approach of his forces, the inhabitants of the cities of Lincopinc, Norcopinc, and Sudercopinc, roſe and expelled the Danes.

In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, Guſtavus received the afflictive tidings of the murder of his mother and ſiſter, by the inhuman Chriſtiern. Irritated by his conqueſts, of which the flight of the viceroy and archbiſhop gave him too ſtrong a demonſtration, he cruelly ordered thoſe noble ladies to be ſewn up in a ſack, and caſt into the ſea; and diſpatched orders to the Daniſh officers who commanded in the fortreſſes which he ſtill held in Sweden, to cut the throats of every Swede enliſted with

with them, as ſo many traitors, who only waited an opportunity to deſert; which horrid order was executed with the greateſt inhumanity, eſpecially by the governor of Abo, the capital of Finland.

CHAP. XII.

GUSTAVUS, deeply afflicted at the death of his mother and ſiſter, made proclamation through his army, and all the places ſubmiſſive to his authority, to put to death every Dane that could be found; with a view by ſuch repriſals, to render Chriſtiern more odious to his own ſubjects; and leaving the chief part of his troops under the orders of colonels Fredage and Saſſi, to form the blockade of Stockolm, he marched into eaſtern Gothland, which, by the prudent conduct and valour of Arvide, had entirely declared for him againſt the Danes. He ſupplied the cities with garriſons, repaired and ſtrengthened the fortifications, and placed in them governors zealous for their country, moſt of whom had been proſcribed by Chriſ-

tiern, and upon whoſe fidelity he could depend: All the nobility came to offer him their ſervices, and to felicitate him on the happy ſucceſs of his arms. Having thus firmly ſecured his conqueſts, Guſtavus ſummoned a ſolemn convocation of the ſtates-general of of the kingdom, in order to give ſome legal form to the government, and to eſtabliſh on a ſolid foundation his ſupreme authority, which as yet he held under the tenure of his ſword, and the election of a few peaſants of Dalecarlia.

In this aſſembly, few of the deputies of the provinces appeared: The maſſacre of the chief nobility, the differences of party, the diſorders of war, the marching of the troops, and ſome fear of a new revolution in favour of Chriſtiern prevented them. The aſſembly conſiſted chiefly of the general officers and the noblemen proſcribed by Chriſtiern, who had fled to Guſtavus as their aſylum. His army nearly compriſed all the ſtate. Guſtavus repreſented to them with his native gracefulneſs and eloquence, the neceſſity of chuſing an adminiſtrator, capable of giving the finiſhing ſtroke to the tyranny of the Danes;

that the few of them who remained in the kingdom, were rather concealed, than capable of defending themſelves, in the fortreſſes which they held: That they ought to improve the terror of their enemies, already vanquiſhed by their own fears. With the nobleſt generoſity, he renounced all conſtraint upon their choice, from whatever ſervices he had afforded them; he would himſelf be the firſt to acknowledge, whoever among them, they pleaſed to elect; and in whatever rank he might be placed, he ſhould be ever happy to expoſe his life in the defence of his country.

To this diſcourſe, the ſtates replied with thoſe praiſes and that applauſe ſo juſtly due to his valour and moderation: The gentlemen and officers aſſembled, were alike attached to his perſon and fortune: They ſubſiſted merely on the benefits received from him: There was no ſafety for them but under his command: The whole aſſembly, therefore, intreated him to take the charge of the government upon himſelf; they would have conferred upon him the title of king; but this he refuſed, contenting himſelf with that of adminiſtrator as more modeſt, and con-

formable to his own, and the preſent ſtate of the kingdom. All the members of the ſtates took the oath of fidelity, and he was proclaimed in the ſtates, and in the army, captain general and ſovereign adminiſtrator of Sweden.

His ſubſequent conduct confirmed the wiſdom and juſtice of their choice. In a little while, by his valour and prudence, Stockholm was taken—the Danes were finally expelled the kingdom—peace reſtored to the troubled realm—the pride and power of the clergy humbled—the reformation eſtabliſhed—the title as well as the authority of king conferred on him; and, to this day, his poſterity continue ſeated on the Throne of Sweden.

ANECDOTES

OF

CHARLES II.

INTRODUCTION.

THE preſervation of Charles II. after the battle of Worceſter, deſerves a place among the ſtriking inſtances of God's Providence. Though in himſelf a character deſerving little eſteem, yet as a king, and deſigned as a link in that chain which ultimately was to lead to thoſe ſingular national bleſſings which we enjoy, we may trace the good hand of God conducting him through the labyrinth of perils and difficulties which ſurrounded him; reſerving him in a future day, beyond all human expectations, for the throne of his anceſtors, and for the accom-

pliſhment

pliſhment of his own great deſigns to this nation. May the abuſe of our mercies and privileges never provoke a repetition of the miſeries of civil war.

CHARLES II. having reached Worceſter with the army raiſed in Scotland, and reinforced by the additions of thoſe who in England dared to join the royal ſtandard, the intrepid Cromwell, with his uſual vigour, approached with haſty marches the royal forces. On the 3d of September, the king who had been on horſeback moſt part of the preceding night, and had that morning been reconnoitring the poſition of the enemy, had returned to his quarters about noon to take ſome refreſhment, no expectation being entertained that any attack would be made that day; when a ſudden alarm reached him, that the armies were engaged. His horſe was at the door; he mounted, and flew to the field of battle; but how great was his aſtoniſhment, as he ruſhed through the city gates, to meet the body of his horſe flying in the utmoſt diſorder.

diſorder. In vain he attempted to rally them; called on the officers by name; entreated, threatened. The troops were ſtruck with panic; they preſſed upon him, deaf to every remonſtrance, and hardly could he preſerve himſelf from being borne down and trampled to death by the trembling fugitives.

Compelled to give way, he returned to the city, where he ſtill found a conſiderable body of horſe, who ſeemed to rally, whilſt the major part had ſpurred on, and fled without daring to look behind them. The king would fain have led theſe once more to face the enemy, and urged them to renew the battle; but only a few of his own more immediate ſervants obeyed, and the horſe that ſhould have followed him, wheeled about and retired from the city, by the gate which led from the enemy. The king commanded inſtantly the gates to be ſhut; but all was confuſion, obedience at an end, the enemy beginning to enter the city, and no poſſibility of reſiſtance.

Nothing now remained but to follow the fugitives, and either retreat with them, if a ſufficient number could be collected, or attempt

tempt to eſcape by any means, which Providence ſhould open to him.

Before night, about four thouſand horſe, with general Leſley, were collected in a body, and might yet have ſecured a retreat into Scotland, but ſuch terror, jealouſy, and confuſion, reigned amongſt them, that the king deſpaired of maintaining that order, regularity, and ſteadineſs, eſſentially requiſite for ſuch a march; beſides the averſion which he had conceived to Scotland, and ſcarce apprehending that any thing worſe could befal him, than being compelled to return thither again. As the night was approaching, he reſolved therefore to ſeparate from the body of the fugitives and ſhift for himſelf, depending upon the providence of God, who alone could extricate him from the ſurrounding dangers, when in human view, nothing preſented itſelf but deſpair.

Attended only by two of his domeſtics, under the favour of the cloſing evening, he quitted his horſe, and finding himſelf on the confines of a thick wood, he determined there to ſpend that dreary night, under the covert

of

of the trees. Overwhelmed with watching and fatigue, he lay down at the foot of an oak; and, amidſt all the horror ſurrounding him, fell aſleep, nor awoke but with the light of the returning day.

Apprehending that the domeſtics which followed him, might expoſe him to diſcovery, and that numbers would increaſe his difficulties, he determined to diſcharge them, and alone meet his appointed fate; having firſt taken the precaution to make them cut his hair ſhort, as much as poſſible, to diſguiſe himſelf.

When the day opened upon him in this dreary and deſolate ſolitude, ruminating upon the complicated miſeries that overwhelmed him, uncertain which way to turn, or whither to direct his courſe, on lifting up his eyes to a ſpreading oak, adjacent to the ſpot where he had ſlept ſo ſoundly, he diſcerned a man hiding himſelf within the foilage, who had taken refuge in the ſame wood with himſelf, from the fury of his purſuers. On ſeeing the king, whom he well knew, he immediately came down, and approaching his Majeſty with the deepeſt reſpect and concern, he offered him

him every ſervice he could render him, if in their preſent forlorn and almoſt deſperate ſituation, any ſteps in his power might conduce to their mutual deliverance.

He was an officer of foot in lord Loughborough's regiment, of the name of Careleſs, a gentleman of the neighbouring county of Staffordſhire, who had lately joined his majeſty, and was known to him. By profeſſion he was a Roman Catholic, and not unacquainted with the neighbouring country, in which many of his own religious perſuaſion reſided, and among them he counted himſelf ſure of finding an aſylum, if he could reach them undiſcovered.

The day was now advancing, their danger imminent, thouſands of their purſuers around them, and death ſtaring them in the face on every ſide, for how could it be expected that Cromwell, whoſe hands were ſtill reeking with the blood of his father, would ſpare him, when his own power and ſafety depended upon the deſtruction of ſo formidable a rival, during whoſe life, his own muſt be every moment in danger? But the imminence and greatneſs of the perils to which he ſtood

expoſed,

expoſed, were much more obvious than the means of averting them. The time was precious, every moment of delay might be fatal, and ſome reſolution muſt neceſſarily be taken, and inſtantly carried into execution. Totally at a loſs about his own courſe, the king determined to ſubmit himſelf to the advice of his companion.

Careleſs ſuggeſted to his majeſty, that every motion during the day time, would be highly imprudent, and expoſe them to certain diſcovery: To leave the wood, would be to ruſh into the arms of their enemies, who they knew were in hot purſuit of them; and as the day advanced, would infallibly examine the adjacent country, with ſcrupulous exactneſs. Nor could they promiſe themſelves concealment, even where they were; as this wood, as well as every ſuſpicious place that could afford harbour to the fugitives, would certainly be well ſearched by the troops who ſcoured the country, or the peaſants excited by the hopes of plunder, or reward for the priſoners which they might capture. Nothing therefore appeared to captain Careleſs, ſo likely to preſerve them from diſcovery, as

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immediately to aſcend again the ſhady oak, where he had before taken refuge. There concealing themſelves in the thickeſt foliage, they might wait the approach of night; and in that ſituation, even if the wood were entered by their purſuers, they might hope to be hid from obſervation; as it was ſcarcely probable, that in a large wood they would carefully examine every tree to its ſummit. The king readily acceded to the propoſal, and with the aſſiſtance of his companion, climbed aloft; where ſeating themſelves on the forks of the tree, ſo as to be as much as poſſible concealed from beneath, they waited in painful ſuſpenſe the decline of day.

The wood where theſe diſtreſſed fugitives had taken ſhelter, adjoined on one ſide to the high road, and on the other ſides was compaſſed with incloſures, belonging to the neighbouring villages. The oak in which they had fixed their ſtation, was not far from that ſide of the wood which was contiguous to the road, and they had ſcarce ſeated themſelves in ſilence, before they diſcovered different bodies in purſuit of the fugitives, ſcouring the country; and with palpitation of heart,

they

they began to hear the ſound of voices approaching the ſpot of their concealment. The troops penetrated into the wood, and went ſo near the very tree where the royal fugitive was ſeated, that he diſtinctly heard them boaſting of their exploits, and threatening every inſult and the moſt ignominious death to the unfortunate monarch, under whoſe ſhadow they were paſſing.

The days of the children of men are all numbered. In the midſt of the moſt imminent danger, till his appointed hour comes, every man is immortal.

In anxious ſolicitude and ſilence, they ſpent the tedious hours of that long day. The cravings of hunger and thirſt, the fatigues of the preceding day and night, the uneaſineſs of their preſent ſituation, and the dreary proſpects before them, all conſpired to overwhelm them with dejection, and reduce them almoſt to deſpair.

The ſun at laſt began to decline, the calls of appetite, the neceſſity of ſleep, and the impoſſibility of continuing longer in their preſent ſituation, determined them, on conſultation, once more to deſcend from their aſylum and attempt to penetrate the wood,

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in ſearch of food, and ſome place of ſafety to repoſe their weary limbs.

As evening approached with welcome ſilence, and the voice of their purſuers was no longer heard, they with care, and with as little noiſe as poſſible, began to deſcend from their elevated ſituation to the foot of that friendly oak, which had been to them as the ſhadow of the Almighty. They reſolved to avoid the adjacent road, and every frequented path, and to penetrate through the wood which was large and thick, in order to gain the incloſures on the farther ſide, and from thence puſh for the firſt hoſpitable manſion, where Careleſs hoped to find a friend and concealment.

But the king had difficulties to encounter of a peculiar kind. He had fled as he had diſmounted, encumbered with his heavy boots. His fatigues and uneaſy poſition in the tree, ſitting for ſo long a time almoſt motionleſs, had contributed with the cold of the night, ſo greatly to ſtiffen his legs, that the weight and encumbrance of his boots, rendered him incapable of walking, without the greateſt efforts, and with pain at every ſtep. But when life

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is at ſtake, what ſeemed before impoſſible, becomes practicable. They ſtruggled through the wood, and with all the difficulties of the advancing night and ſurrounding darkneſs, gained the incloſures. Yet their toils were then but beginning, as Careleſs perceived that the place of their propoſed aſylum was ſtill at the diſtance of many miles; and in order to avoid diſcovery, they were obliged to ſhun every path and village in their way, and ſteer their courſe by the uncertain light of the glimmering ſtars through the incloſures, where hedges of thorns, and deep ditches at every few hundred yards, intercepted their line of march, and reduced the king to the greateſt extremity. His heavy boots weighed him down at every ſtep, and impeded every effort of activity ſo neceſſary to their progreſs. At laſt he became ſo exhauſted, that he deſpaired of proceeding any farther, and caſting himſelf on the cold ground, was ready to abandon himſelf to his fate. His companion ceaſed not to encourage and exhort him to proceed; he aſſured him the place was now but at a little diſtance, and he would go before and prepare their hoſt for his reception.

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The night was now far advanced; the difficulties they had met with, had grievouſly retarded them; and the diſtance was much greater, than Careleſs had at firſt ſuppoſed. They had travelled eight or nine miles, but the cottage at laſt was near, and the captain, who knew the occupant, advanced, and with as little diſturbance as poſſible awakening him, implored an aſylum under his roof for himſelf and his companion, making himſelf known, but concealing the quality of his friend.

The poor cottager immediately aroſe and came to the door. He was one of the ſame profeſſion with the captain, and this bond of his religion was the aſſurance of his fidelity. He thought it meritorious to harbour the fugitives, to whoſe party he was warmly attached, and invited them to hide their proſcribed heads, under his mean but hoſpitable roof.

The king, who paſſed for a friend of the captain, was received with aſſurances of all the aſſiſtance which the poor peaſant could render them; and as concealment was the firſt object, it was thought too dangerous to admit them into the cottage, leaſt thoſe who

ſearched

ſearched the country for fugitives, ſhould examine the houſe; they judged it therefore more prudent to take refuge in an adjacent barn that was filled with hay, on the top of which, covered up, they might repoſe with greater ſecurity than in the cottage.

To this elevation the king aſcended, and, ſurrounded with darkneſs, ſtretched himſelf upon the top of the ſtack of hay, there to remain till ſome plan for proceeding farther could be fixed upon.

The importunate cravings of hunger now required to be ſatisfied, and that deſtitute abode afforded nothing that ſeemed capable of being produced before the princely gueſt. But diſtreſs and hardſhip bring the higheſt to a level with their fellows, and the hungry ſtomach of a king can be made to reliſh what, in the days of his greatneſs, he would have loathed. All the proviſion which that cottage afforded, conſiſted of a piece of courſe black bread, and a little butter-milk in a dirty earthen pot; but no ſooner did the welcome porringer appear, with the bread, in the rough hands of the hoſpitable peaſant, than the king eagerly ſeized and devoured the pre-

cious repaſt, and declared that it ſeemed to him the moſt delicious food he had ever taſted.

In conference with their hoſt on the ſtate and circumſtances of the adjacent country, with a view to collect all poſſible information, who were well or ill-affected to the royal cauſe, they found him very intelligent, and zealous for the intereſt of his Majeſty; and therefore the king, without diſcovering himſelf to this friendly cottager, reſolved to halt there, and diſpatch Careleſs on the ſcout, both to diminiſh the danger of diſcovery, which would have been greater if they had continued together, and to examine by what means he might ſafely remove to a more comfortable abode, and attempt his eſcape out of the kingdom.

Meantime the wily Cromwell had employed every means for diſcovering the place of his concealment; and, to tempt avarice into the ſervice, a high reward was offered to any man who ſhould bring in the royal fugitive dead or alive.

As not a moment was to be loſt, and the morning approached, Careleſs quitted his royal maſter with aſſurances, that he ſhould hear

hear from him again in the ſpace of two or three days, and in the mean time exhorted him not to remove from the place of his concealment. There, oppreſſed with grief and fatigue, the monarch ſtretched his weary limbs on the hayſtack, and found ſleep for a while beguiled all his cares and fears.

When he awoke, he found himſelf much refreſhed, and the viſit of his friendly hoſt ſerved to cheer him. Solitude to man is uſually tedious; but to a monarch—ſuch a monarch—and in ſuch a ſituation, it muſt have been peculiarly irkſome. The ſound of a peaſant's voice was ſweet to him. He wiſhed to detain him in converſation; and, having inquired into the circumſtances of his family, was informed by him, that he was a poor cottager, who, by his daily labour, and the ſupply of milk from a cow, maintained himſelf and his wife: That he would be happy to ſhare with him his coarſe fare, and wiſhed it were better. But he exhorted his gueſt, of whoſe quality he was ignorant, to be contented to partake of this common food for the preſent, as the very attempt to procure any thing better might give occaſion to ſuſpicion; but

that if his viſitor pleaſed, he would endeavour to gratify him. The king, who ſaw the judiciouſneſs of the ſuggeſtion, determined to reſt ſatisfied with the bread and butter-milk, to which the cottager now added ſome butter, and to run no hazard in procuring better proviſions. But he wiſhed to engage the company of his hoſt, whoſe converſation ſerved to beguile the miſerable hours of ſolitude, and to reſcue him a while from his own painful reflections. This, however, the ſenſible peaſant choſe not to comply with; obſerving to him, that any abſence from, or interruption of, his ordinary labour, would occaſion the ſame ſuſpicion, as his attempt to procure better refreſhments, and therefore that his gueſt muſt be content with theſe ſhort moments of intercourſe; when, after his labours were ended, and he retired to his cottage, he would bring him the ſame plain fare which he uſed himſelf.

Upon this ſtack of hay, therefore, alone in the dark—without putting off his cloaths—ſubſiſting on this unuſual food—and left to the miſery and diſtreſs of his own reflections—compaſſed with danger, and utterly unacquainted

quainted with the country, or any means of eſcape, the afflicted monarch waited, with anxious expectation, the promiſed return of his faithful Careleſs.

Two days and two nights the king paſſed in this forlorn ſituation; bread and buttermilk his only diet, and the hay his hard bed. The third evening approached, and no intelligence received, he began to fear for the captain, leſt ſome misfortune had befallen him; when he heard the barn door open, and perceived a ſtrange man entering, who accompanied his hoſt, and ſeemed, in rank of life, ſcarcely his ſuperior.

From him the king was informed that he was commiſſioned by Careleſs to convey him that night to another friend's houſe at about twelve miles diſtance, much farther removed from the rout by which any detachments from Cromwell's army were likely to march, and, therefore, more out of the way of danger and diſcovery.

To this unknown guide was the king therefore obliged to entruſt himſelf, and, avoiding the common road, to attempt pene-

trating the country, through the pathleſs fields and hedges, as he had done before.

To avoid as much as poſſible, in caſe of accidents, their being ſtopped or examined by the way, ſhould they meet any parties of the enemy, the king reſolved to change clothes with his kind hoſt. His laced clothes he gladly abandoned; but when he came to take off his ſhirt, he felt a great reluctance to part with it. Reflecting, however, a moment, that a peaſant's coat over a ſhirt of the fineſt linen would moſt certainly awaken ſuſpicions wherever it was remarked, he ſtripped himſelf to his ſkin, and adding his ſhirt to his coat and embroidered waiſtcoat, equipped himſelf with the poor labourer's habiliments, his rough courſe ſhirt, his threadbare jacket, and patched coat; covering his head with a hat banded with a cord, and a ragged ſtaff, to compleat his metamorphoſis: Remembering how much trouble his boots had given him, he willingly exchanged them for an old pair of ſhoes; and, thus tranformed, took his leave, with many thanks to his hoſpitable cottager, and ſallied forth under the conduct of his unknown guide.

But

But, alas! the exchange he had made had nearly proved fatal to all his ſchemes, like Saul's armour on David, who had not proved it. The ſhoes, which did not well fit when he firſt put them on, became more uneaſy to him every ſtep he took. The road, like the former, to eſcape obſervation, lay acroſs the country, over hedge and ditch, entangled with thorns and briars, and through ploughed grounds, where the king walked in ſuch anguiſh, and was ſo fatigued with the difficulties he had to ſurmount, that he ſunk under it; reſolving to reſt there, and ſubmit to the hazard of diſcovery, rather than attempt to proceed in a journey where the difficulties ſeemed to him inſurmountable.

His guide exhorted him to proceed, begged him to riſe up, and haſten whilſt the night concealed them, and not abandon himſelf to deſpair. After a ſhort halt, he determined to throw away his ſhoes, which appeared to him unſufferable, and to attempt the remainder of the journey without them; but the eſſay coſt him dear, and he, too late, often wiſhed for them again. His ſtockings were ſoon worn through, his bare feet bruiſed by every

ſtone and clod, and ſo wounded and torn with thorns, in paſſing through the hedges, that he many times caſt himſelf on the ground, reſolved to wait the return of light, whatever might be the conſequences. But his ſturdy and faithful guide, after the firſt violence of theſe conflicts were paſſed, urged him to advance, and ſupported him through the moſt difficult paſſages. His ſtrength at laſt began to fail him, and deſpair to overwhelm him. His companion importuned him to make but one effort more; he aſſured him the remaining way was leſs incommodious; that if it were light, the houſe would be in their view, and that it would be madneſs to abandon himſelf to certain ruin when the port of ſafety was in view. Revived by this aſſurance, the king determined to make a laſt effort, and, with bleeding feet, and an aching heart, once more roſe to follow his guide. The morning was ready to break when they arrived at the long deſired haven; it was to the king as the gates of Paradiſe.

But though the houſe he reached now was much ſuperior to that which he had quitted, it was ſtill judged adviſeable, that he

he ſhould not appear in the family; and, therefore, a lodging was provided for him in the barn, where ſome clean ſtraw for his bed was his only beneficial exchange. His proviſion, indeed, was ſomewhat better; for he was now ſupplied with meat and broth, which, with the addition of good bread and cheeſe, were luxuries that he had not for ſome days taſted.

Here it became abſolutely neceſſary for his majeſty to halt a while, in order to recover his ſtrength, and till his feet ſhould be in a condition to endure ſhoes and ſtockings for his further travels. However, to encourage him, every where, though unknown, he experienced the greateſt kindneſs and moſt unſhaken fidelity.

When the king was in a capacity to travel, he removed to another houſe at no great diſtance, and continued to ſhift from cottage to cottage among the Catholics, who were numerous in that country; every where proving the ſame kind reception, and concealment.

As Careleſs directed all his motions, he could not help obſerving, that in all his changes, he had never once been conſigned

to any gentleman, though that country was full of their manſions, and they were ſtrongly attached to the party. Whether the provident director was afraid, that in families abounding with ſervants he might be more liable to diſcovery, or that thoſe who had much to looſe, though well-affected to the king, might dread being involved in caſe of of his apprehenſion, and be liable to forfeit their lives and fortunes together—perhaps alſo he had greater confidence in the ſimplicity and integrity of the poor, than in the loyalty of their richer landlords.

But the king began to be weary of this ſhifting ſcene, with hard fare and hard lodging; and though hitherto faithfully concealed, yet he reflected that he was ſtill in the heart of the kingdom, far, far removed from the ſea coaſt, and the weſt of England, from whence alone he had any hope of being able to eſcape in ſafety from his enemies. How to traverſe this awful ſpace remained a problem not eaſily ſolved.

Whilſt, tortured with ſuſpenſe, and in perpetual anxiety, the king reflected on his perilous ſituation, and ſaw no proſpect of deliverance,

verance, he received a viſit, in one of his hiding places, from a Mr. Huddleſtone, whom Careleſs had ſent to him, as a man diſcreet and truſty; and, being a Benedictine Monk, who ſecretly officiated among the Catholics in that country, he had much influence with them. He was of ſingular ſervice to his majeſty; attended him in the removals, from place to place that were judged neceſſary; provided him with a horſe, when the diſtance was inconvenient to travel on foot; and equipped the king with a ſuit of clothes and linen, more decent and comfortable than the miſerable garments which he had received in exchange with his firſt friendly cottager.

From Mr. Huddleſtone he learned that Lord Wilmot lay concealed in that neighbourhood; and, as the king longed to have an interview with that nobleman, within a night or two he introduced him to his majeſty. The joy and conſolation of meeting once more made them, for a moment, forget the miſeries which they had undergone; but how to bring them to a happy iſſue became the immediate matter of conſultation.

Lord Wilmot informed his majesty, it had been his providential lot, after the fatal battle of Worcester, to be conveyed to the house of a Mr. Lane; a man zealous for the royal cause, and who had raised men with an intention to join the king at Worcester, which he was about to do the very day of the unhappy conflict. Hearing the fatal issue of the battle, he dismissed his men, and returned to his house, where he had continued unmolested, being an old man highly respected by all persons, however different in parties and opinions. As a magistrate and chairman of the county, he had made himself beloved by his equity and benevolence; his estate, which was ample, enabled him to exercise great hospitality; and though a zealous protestant, he had lived in such habits of civility and candour among his catholic neighbours, that they had equal confidence in him, as if he had been one with them in religious profession. This worthy old gentleman had often inquired of Lord Wilmot about the king, and used great diligence to discover the place of his concealment; expressing much solicitude to get him,

him, if poſſible, under his roof, confident that he could ſecure him an aſylum, till a way ſhould open for his final eſcape abroad. To this houſe Lord Wilmot, therefore, counſelled his majeſty to repair, where his ſafety would be as great, and his accommodations more comfortable, than in ſhifting from cottage to cottage.

Mr. Huddleſtone confirmed the report of Lord Wilmot in every particular, and cordially concurred in adviſing the king to embrace this proffered aſylum, as promiſing more repoſe and ſecurity than he would probably find in any other part of that country.

The king very cordially welcomed the propoſal, and determined to entruſt his ſafety with this venerable magiſtrate; but not to ſurpriſe him with an unexpected viſit, and to ſound him again, whether he perſiſted in the ſame loyal ſentiments, his Majeſty ſent Lord Wilmot to inform him, that he was in that neighbourhood, and wiſhed to commit himſelf to his fidelity, and embrace an aſylum under his hoſpitable roof.

The good old man appeared tranſported with joy at the news, repeated every warm aſſurance

aſſurance he had given, and impatiently waited the arrival of his royal gueſt. The worthy Monk had conveyed the king to a houſe in the neighbourhood of Mr. Lane, till Lord Wilmot could return; and as ſoon as he heard the welcome tidings of ſo cordial a reception, they walked together to the manſion, and his majeſty was received with all the reſpect and affection that a zealous and faithful ſubject muſt feel on beholding his royal maſter in ſo afflicted a ſituation.

The houſe which Mr. Lane occupied was large and commodious, and in thoſe troubleſome times had been provided with concealed receſſes and accommodations on purpoſe to hide ſuch perſons, as, being obnoxious to the government for their loyalty, were perſecuted as malignants; and where their property alſo was ſafely ſecreted from being plundered by the prevailing party of Cromwell. In one of theſe moſt commodious places was the king immured; and, enjoying the comforts of a good bed and refreſhments of every kind, began to repoſe himſelf in perfect ſafety, and hope a happy iſſue of all his calamities.

Lord

Lord Wilmot had retired under the care of the truſty Benedictine, and waited in the nighbourhood for a ſummons from his royal maſter, whenever it ſhould be judged neceſſary to attempt any thing further for the king's final deliverance.

In this ſequeſtered lodgment his majeſty repoſed for many days, and from his worthy hoſt received information of what was paſſing in the troubled realm: The general conſternation of the royaliſt party, broken, and ſuffering under executions, impriſonment, and loſs of every earthly poſſeſſion; their apprehenſions what was become of the royal perſon; and their terror leſt he ſhould fall into the hands of his enemies. He heard of the inceſſant inquiſition made after him; and purſuits wherever he might be ſuſpected to harbour; and the vigilance at the ſea-ports to prevent his eſcaping out of the kingdom. He ſaw and read the proclamation iſſued by the ruling powers, promiſing the reward of a thouſand pounds to any man who ſhould diſcover and deliver the perſon of Charles Stewart into the hands of juſtice; and denouncing the penalties of high treaſon againſt all ſuch as

ſhould

ſhould preſume to harbour and conceal him; and he received the fulleſt conviction how deeply he was obliged to thoſe, whom neither wealth could tempt, nor threatenings terrify, to betray him.

The family in which the king lay concealed, conſiſted of the worthy old gentleman, Mr. Lane, his ſon, who had been a colonel in the army, a man of primitive ſimplicity, intrepid courage and integrity, ſuperior to every temptation; and a daughter remarkable for her underſtanding and diſcretion, worthy to be admitted into the royal councils, and equal to any part in the execution of them. With them the king conſulted how he might beſt effect the great object to be purſued--his eſcape out of the reach of his enemies.

He was now in the north of England, far removed from the coaſts with which he was beſt acquainted, and moſt commodious for his paſſage into France, whither he moſt deſired to convey himſelf. How to traverſe ſo great a ſpace of the kingdom undiſcovered, was the difficulty. After diſcuſſing a variety of projects, with the moſt probable means of ſucceſs, it was at laſt reſolved, that, in order

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to proceed weſtward, the firſt effort ſhould be to convey the king to the neighbourhood of Briſtol, where he was thoroughly acquainted with the country, and many loyal adherents, to whom, in caſe of emergency, he could make himſelf known, and in whom he could fully confide.

Mr. Lane happened to have a neice married to a Mr. Norton, about five miles from Briſtol; a man of fortune, and faithful to the royal cauſe. The diſtance was conſiderable, and would require a journey of four or five days. But as in thoſe unhappy times, when parties ran ſo high, the diſpoſitions and affections of men were generally well known. It was ſome advantage, amidſt the miſeries with which attachment to the royal cauſe was attended, that there was ſcarce a ſtage from one end of the kingdom to the other, where travellers, who needed concealment, might not repoſe in ſecurity, without expoſing themſelves to the view of public inns. And, to the honour of loyalty, be it acknowledged, that ſcarce an inſtance of treachery, or want of fidelity could be produced; but where ſecreſy was neceſſary, it was maintained ſeverely, and

thoſe

thoſe who needed concealment, were conducted from one houſe to another of the ſame party in perfect ſafety. It was reſolved, therefore, that Mr Lane's daughter ſhould go on a viſit to her relation, attended by one of her father's ſervants, in livery, with her portmanteau; and that the king ſhould be provided with cloaths and boots, as one of her father's tenants, and carry her behind him.

Thus equipped, they proceeded on their journey, and a houſe was fixed upon of a friend, where they ſhould lodge at night, at which Lord Wilmot was enjoined to give them the meeting. Colonel Lane, without appearing to be of the party, kept them always in view; and with a hawk on his fiſt, and his ſpaniels beating before him, ſeemed a ſportſman in purſuit of game, turning to the right and left, where the country opened; and arriving with them, as night cloſed, at the houſe marked for their reception. Lord Wilmot was arrived before them. There their ſubſequent ſtages were fixed, and Colonel Lane, after eſcorting them thus for the firſt two or three days, when he had ſeen them ſafe within a day's journey of Mr. Norton's houſe,

houſe, reſigned his hawk and dogs to Lord Wilmot, who continued the journey in the ſame way of amuſement, whilſt Mr. Lane returned to the old gentleman, with the report of their ſafe and uninterrupted progreſs.

Wherever they lodged at night (being friends' houſes to which they were recommended) Miſs Lane contrived to ſave the king from being expoſed to obſervation, by pretending that he was a tenant's ſon, who had long been afflicted with a quartan ague, and whom her father had purpoſely employed on this journey, in hopes it might be beneficial to his health. She therefore wiſhed his bed might be prepared for him as ſoon as he arrived, and, procuring a comfortable repaſt, which ſhe uſually carried up to him herſelf, or ſent by her own ſervant, left him unſeen and unnoticed, till he was called up in the morning to mount, when the ſervant who had the care of the horſes, had gotten all things in readineſs, and given him his breakfaſt.

During the journey, they paſt a variety of perſons, well known to the king, unnoticed; but as their road lay through the city of Briſtol, where

where he had reſided ſo much, and was ſo generally known, there was ſome danger, eſpecially conſidering the ſtrong and marked features of his majeſty. They paſſed the gate, and in ſpite of the neceſſity he was under to conceal himſelf, he could not refrain from caſting a glance around him, ſtruck with the great alterations which had been made ſince his departure from thence; and when he rode by the place where the great fort had formerly ſtood, he could not reſiſt his curioſity, but, turning his horſe out of the direct road, took a turn with his miſtreſs around it.

Having paſſed through the city, they proceeded to Mr. Norton's, and arriving early in the afternoon, they found a number of gentlemen at bowls on the green before the houſe; and a perſon ſitting on the rails, who was looking at the bowlers, turning about to obſerve the viſitor, who was arriving, the king inſtantly recollected the well-known face of one of his own chaplains. But under his farmer's diſguiſe he paſſed undiſcovered; and his miſtreſs having diſmounted, he led his horſe to the ſtable, and buſying himſelf in cleaning him after his journey, waited there

for

for her commands, who had undertaken to provide for his ſafe retreat.

As ſoon as the firſt ſalutations had paſſed, and Mrs. Norton had welcomed her couſin, inquiring of her family, and hoping ſhe had a pleaſant journey, Miſs Lane ſaid the weather had been remarkably agreeable, but that the poor youth who had rode before her had been much indiſpoſed, and ſuffered from the attacks of a quartan ague, which ſhe hoped the change of air would remove. She wiſhed therefore a quiet room might be provided for him with a fire, that he might go to bed early, as he was not fit to be below ſtairs with the ſervants.

The bell was immediately rung, a little chamber free from noiſe prepared, a fire lighted, and the footboy order to call William (for that was the name the king went by) from the ſtable, and ſhow him to his room; his ſupper to be carried up to him, and his miſtreſs's order to go to bed early.

Miſs Lane, who had never before viſited Mrs. Norton, though they had been bred up together, and intimate friends, as well as near relations, apologized for making her viſit ſo

late in the year; but that ſhe was under an engagement to ſpend part of the winter with a friend in Dorſetſhire, and therefore reſolved that ſhe would not paſs ſo near her without waiting upon her, though her ſtay could be but ſhort.

When the ſupper came in, which conſiſted, among other things, of mutton broth, ſhe deſired poor William might have a baſon carried up to him, as ſhe muſt nurſe him to proceed with her on the journey. The butler was ordered to go up, and taking the baſon, a ſpoon, bread, and a napkin, entered the chamber. "Here maſter William," ſays he, "your miſtreſs ſends you ſome nice broth; you are to eat it, and go to bed." The king, whoſe appetite was ſharpened by his ride, did not want much invitation to fall to, and, turning to the table, his countenance no ſooner met the butler's eyes, then falling inſtantly on his knees, before the king, he cried, "God bleſs your majeſty," and, burſting into a flood of tears, expreſſed the utmoſt joy at ſeeing him alive. The king was exceedingly ſurpriſed; but, recovering himſelf, attempted to laugh off the matter as a joke. But the butler,

butler, who had been falconer to Sir Thomas Jermyn, repeating ſome particulars of what had formerly paſſed, which the king well remembered, left no doubt that he was aſſured of the perſon before whom he appeared. As concealment was impoſſible, his majeſty conjured him to be ſilent, nor open his lips to his own maſter on the ſubject, though he had the fulleſt confidence in his fidelity. The butler, with the deepeſt reſpect, aſſured the king, that the ſecret, lodged in his boſom, ſhould be inviolably preſerved. And he kept his word, waiting himſelf upon the king during his ſtay in the houſe with the greateſt aſſiduity, and preventing, as much as poſſible, the neceſſity of any other attendant, as William, under pretence of indiſpoſition, kept his chamber.

Among the friends, who ſupped with Mr. Norton that evening, was Dr. Gorges, one of the king's chaplains. He was a man of family, a relation of Mr. Norton, and, as others had done in thoſe unhappy times, to eſcape the perſecution of the prevailing powers, being precluded from the exerciſe of his profeſſion, he had turned to the ſtudy of phyſic. Obſerving

ſerving Miſs Lane's ſolicitude about William's indiſpoſition, he very humanely aſked her many queſtions reſpecting him—when his ague left him? whether he had been under proper medical care? or what phyſic had been adminiſtered to him? She endeavoured to turn off the ſubject by ſuch anſwers as might preclude any farther inquiries. But the doctor, thinking he might probably be of ſervice to the young man, without taking any further notice, when ſupper was ended, and the company engaged in converſation, ſtepped out, and inquiring for William's chamber, was ſhown up ſtairs by the butler.

The king had finiſhed his ſupper, and was juſt got into bed, when he heard the door of his chamber open, and, by the light of the candle which the butler carried before him, he, through the aperture of the curtains, diſcovered the well-known countenance of his old chaplain, Dr. Gorges. The butler having placed the candle on the table, the doctor approached the bedſide of the palpitating monarch, under every apprehenſion of diſcovery; when he was relieved by the doctor's ſaying, that having heard from his miſtreſs

that

that he had been indiſpoſed, he had ſtepped up to inquire if he could be of any ſervice to him; he deſired to feel his pulſe, and found nothing amiſs there; aſked him many queſtions reſpecting his ague, which he anſwered in a voice as diſguiſed as poſſible; and keeping his face as much concealed as he could with his night-cap and the bed-clothes, the doctor left him with the confident aſſurance that he would ſoon be well, and coming to Miſs Lane, informed her where he had been, and told her he hoped William would have no more return of his ague; but if he ſhould, the doctor gave her a preſcription that he hoped would relieve him. The company parted, the doctor took his leave, and the trembling miſtreſs and her royal ſervant were once more happily relieved from the alarms of diſcovery which threatened them.

The next day Lord Wilmot, who had lodged in the neighbourhood, paid a viſit to Miſs Lane, and finding an opportunity to call upon William, what farther ſteps ſhould be taken became the ſubject of their conſideration. It was reſolved that Lord Wilmot ſhould make inquiries what port lay moſt

convenient for his majeſty's eſcape, and what perſon in the neighbourhood of it could be depended upon for their fidelity; and that, in the interim, the king ſhould abide where he was, and wait the reſult of theſe inquiries.

To prevent ſuſpicion, Lord Wilmot communicated, by letters through Miſs Lane, the intelligence he received, and particularly informed the king, that Colonel Francis Wyndham lived not more than a day's journey from Mr. Norton's. He was a man well known to and eſteemed by his majeſty; had been formerly governor of Dunſter caſtle, where King Charles the Firſt lay when he was in the weſt, and when the war ended in the defeat of the royal party, and the places of defence were ſurrendered. He gave up his government, on conditions of a peaceable retreat and preſervation of his fortune. He had ſince married a woman of fortune, friendly to the royal party, and lived unmoleſted, though known to poſſeſs the ſame affection for the cauſe which he h d formerly eſpouſed.

To this gentleman the king determined to entruſt himſelf, as the moſt able to aſſiſt him in

in accompliſhing the ſcheme of his eſcape: He ſent Lord Wilmot to ſound him on the ſubject, and receiving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of every aſſiſtance in his power, they appointed a day and place for meeting. The king took his leave of Miſs Lane, who determined to prolong her viſit with Mrs. Norton, and pretend to ſend William home.

When the king arrived at the place appointed, he met Colonel Wyndham and Lord Wilmot, who carried his hawk with him as a blind, and they ſet off for the colonel's houſe. But paſſing through a town in their way, they were met by a Mr. Kirton, who had been formerly about his majeſty's perſon; as Lord Wilmot was in no diſguiſe, he knew him immediately; but his royal maſter, with his cropt hair and plain coat, paſſed him as a ſervant, unobſerved. This coming to his majeſty's knowledge, he took care that Lord Wilmot ſhould no more be of his moving parties, leaſt he ſhould expoſe him to diſcovery.

Arriving ſafe at Colonel Wyndham's, they immediately ſet themſelves to concert at what place it was moſt ſecure to embark, and by

what means to procure a proper veſſel—a matter of great difficulty, when ſuch ſtrict ſearch was made at all the ports, and no paſſengers permitted to go out of the kingdom, who could not give a clear account of their buſineſs abroad.

Colonel Wyndham had an intimate friend, a Mr. Elliſon, who lived near Lyme, in Dorſetſhire; he had been a captain in the royal army, and eſteemed faithful to the cauſe; to him the colonel went on a viſit, and wiſhed his aſſiſtance to procure, if poſſible, a veſſel to carry two friends of his out of the kingdom, who had been proſcribed and in danger of being arreſted. But as Lyme was a town remarkably diſaffected to the royal cauſe, and ſtrenuous for the republic, it was no eaſy matter to find a captain, whom they dared to truſt or try.

Mr. Elliſon, however, on reflecting, knew a maſter of a ſloop, who traded to France, and had but juſt returned from thence. He had the reputation of an honeſt man, and of being a friend to their cauſe. It was agreed Mr. Elliſon ſhould ſound him on the ſubject; and in a converſation, in which his next voy-

age

age was introduced, he aſked the captain when he went over again; he ſaid, when he could get a lading. Mr. Elliſon told him, he believed he could procure him a freight without delay, and if he would undertake to convey two paſſengers to Dieppe, he would give him fifty guineas. This ſum of money was a great temptation, though he was aware that this freight would be contraband, and therefore told Mr. Elliſon, that he muſt make his proviſion for the voyage very ſecretly, becauſe having returned ſo lately, and but juſt diſcharged the cargo, ſhould he leave the pier immediately with a clear veſſel, he ſhould be liable to ſuſpicion; but he would make preparation, and let him hear from him ſoon.

Colonel Wyndham being advertiſed by Mr. Elliſon that a veſſel was engaged, he, with Lord Wilmot, came to a houſe near Lyme, where the captain of the veſſel being appointed to meet them, they formed ſo good an opinion of his warineſs and fidelity, that they agreed with him, as ſoon as the tide ſerved conveniently, to get his veſſel at night out of the pier, and being at ſea, to come to

a point about a mile from the town, and run in the veſſel upon the beach, that the returning tide might take them off, when they had embarked, about the break of day.

The time being fixed for their ſailing, it was determined that the two paſſengers ſhould come the preceeding night to a little inn, in view of the point, near which the London road paſſed; the inn-keeper himſelf being reputed a friend to the king, and the houſe much frequented by the cavaliers who travelled through that country. Mr. Elliſon undertook to get all matters completed; and if, contrary to their expectation, any thing ſhould diſappoint the ſcheme, they ſhould be informed of it.

They waited with ſolicitude the appointed day; and coming to Mr. Elliſon, were rejoiced to hear that the captain had got in his proviſions, engaged his crew, conſiſting of four men, to be on board that evening, and would be at the point that night. Lord Wilmot and the king, equipped as travellers on the road, were conducted by Mr. Elliſon, in ſight of the inn, and leaving them, he returned to his own houſe, about a mile diſtant,

tant, expecting next morning to hear the news of their being embarked.

When they arrived at the inn they found it full of company, and were obliged to be ſhown into a very indifferent chamber, which, as they did not intend long to occupy, they readily put up with. Too anxious for the morning to indulge ſleep, Lord Wilmot, at break of day, was at the point, but no bark appeared. He waited with eager impatience till the ſun aroſe, but no veſſel could be ſeen. They ſent to Mr. Elliſon, who was in the greateſt agitation, and he immediately diſpatched a ſervant to find the captain of the veſſel, who could not be met with, but the ſervant brought intelligence that the veſſel was ſtill in the pier.

In ſuch a ſtate of diſtreſſing uncertainty, the king and Lord Wilmot began to ſuſpect Elliſon of ſome infidelity; and he was filled with equal ſuſpicions of the captain. It was ten o'clock—they began to think it high time to decamp and conſult their ſafety; but the froſt was ſo ſharp, they were obliged to wait till their horſes were ſent to a ſmith to be froſt nailed; and then they made the beſt of

their way back to Colonel Wyndham, who was waiting at a houſe at ſome diſtance, till he was aſſured they were ſailed.

But amidſt all their fears or ſurmiſes the real cauſe of the diſappointment never entered into their imaginations. The maſter of the veſſel was a man of integrity, and fully determined to perform his engagement; the proviſions and crew were on board, and ready to embrace the following tide; the captain himſelf, after getting a nap of an hour or two, that he might be freſh for the voyage, aroſe at the appointed time, and going to a cheſt of drawers to get ſome linen to take with him, his wife, with ſurpriſe, aſked him, what he had to do with linen at that time of night? He told her he had been promiſed a freight, and was only packing up a few things to go on board.

She had obſerved him for ſome days more than uſually thoughtful, and now recollected, that proviſions had been carried on board, though ſhe knew of no freight; ſuſpicion ſeized her mind that ſomething was going forward ſhe did not know, and being a dame of that kind, which gives occaſion to the proverb,

proverb, that the grey mare was the better horſe, ſhe ſtopped her huſband, who was going to the door, locked it, and ſwore he ſhould not ſtir out of the houſe for that night. The maſter, if we may honour him with a title that appeared ſo little his right, very gently remonſtrated, and told her ſhe ſhould not put herſelf into a paſſion, for he muſt go, and was engaged to ſail out of the pier that night with the tide; and begged her not to make any diſturbance, for he ſhould be well paid for the voyage. "Well paid (ſaid his wife) ay, with a halter; you muſt be about ſome villainous work that will ruin us; and if you pretend to ſtir one ſtep farther, I'll alarm the neighbours, and carry you before Mr. Mayor, and then I warrant you all the truth will come out." What could a poor man do, who had long been learning leſſons of obedience, but ſubmit to the fury and poſitiveneſs of his wife, and quietly go to bed again. The bark continued in the pier, and the king and Lord Wilmot were left to all the miſeries of their ſuſpicions.

They ſpurred back to Colonel Wyndham with full ſpeed, and it was well for them that they had decamped ſo timely. The day fixed for their ſailing happened to be the very one appointed by the ruling powers for a ſolemn faſt; ſuch days being frequently ordered, to inflame the minds of the populace againſt the king and his party. In the village oppoſite to the inn where they had ſpent the morning, was a meeting of independents, where a weaver, who had been a ſoldier, and as was too frequent in thoſe diſordered times, was now turned preacher, held forth that day with the bittereſt invective againſt the king and his adherents. He ſaid, that he and his runaways were lurking up and down the country, and that it would be a moſt meritorious act to diſcover and ſeize Charles Stuart, and all diſturbers of the preſent godly rulers. The ſmith to whom the horſes had been carried to be froſt-ſhod that morning, on taking up their feet, had told the ſervant, by obſerving the ſhoes, on each of which there was a difference and mark viſible to him, "that theſe horſes muſt have come a good way, for he was ſure each of

that

that horſes ſhoes had been ſet on in a different county;" which really had been the caſe. The ſmith, who was a zealous hearer at meeting, had poſted to the ſermon; and warmed with the ſubject, communicated this intelligeuce to a neighbour in the pew, which he inſtantly tranſmitted to the preacher, who was fired at the news, and declared, that one of the men who rode thoſe horſes, he verily believed was Charles Stuart himſelf. From the pulpit to the inn the loyal body inſtantly proceeded, with a peace officer at their head, ſearched every corner, and grew more ſuſpicious from every inquiry, being aſſured the gueſts who had ſlept there had mounted but a little while ago. Horſe and foot were ordered to purſue, and make inquiries, and ſearch after two gentlemen who had left the inn that morning, ſuſpected to be malignants. But the purſuit was vain, no traces of them remained, and they reached Colonel Wyndham's in ſafety the ſame night.

Intelligence of this hair-breadth eſcape ſoon followed them, and diſcouraged any farther attempt of embarking on that coaſt; and this determined the king to remove from

Colonel Wyndham's into Hampſhire or Suſſex; but how to proceed, and where to go, was the queſtion.

Not far from Saliſbury lived a loyal ſubject, much reſpected by the king, Colonel Robert Philips; he had ſerved the king in his army, and he reſolved to ſend for him: He was a relation of Colonel Wyndham's, and therefore could viſit him without ſuſpicion. To him Lord Wilmot was diſpatched; he obeyed the ſummons with alacrity, and engaged for a ſecure aſylum; but the way was conſiderable; the country through which their rout lay full of the parliament's ſoldiers; and the army, marching into winter quarters, every day ſome parties were on the road. Having ſo well ſucceeded in his firſt diſguiſe, it was reſolved that the king ſhould again deſcend to be the ſervant; and placing a relation of Colonel Wyndham's behind him, ſet off under the conduct of Colonel Philips. In this diſguiſe he one day met a regiment of horſe upon the road, and ſoon after paſſed General Deſborough himſelf, with three or four officers, walking down the hill, who had left Saliſbury that morning.

On

On the plain, a few miles from Saliſbury, he was met by Dr. Hinchman, one of the prebends, who had been appointed to conduct the king to a houſe called Haile; it belonged to Serjeant Hyde, and was then occupied by his elder brother's widow. Mean time Lord Wilmot and Colonel Philips proceeded to the ſea coaſt, in order, if poſſible, to ſecure a veſſel, and prevent a ſecond diſappointment.

Arriving in the evening at the houſe, which ſtood alone and out of the road, they found ſome gentlemen come thither unexpectedly to ſup, whoſe company could not well be avoided; but they retired early, and next morning the king mounted to purſue his journey—but had not gone far before he turned back, as had been concerted by Mr. Hyde, who being intruſted with the ſecret, engaged to ſend the ſervants on various pretexts out of the way, and to conceal the king in a little room, that had been fitted up on purpoſe, from the beginning of the troubles, for hiding thoſe loyal ſubjects who were proſcribed by the parliament. Here the king lay ſeveral days without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any

any viſitor in the houſe, or the knowledge of the ſervants; the lady herſelf kept the key of the apartment, waited upon his majeſty, and brought him the letters of Lord Wilmot and Colonel Philips. They contained the welcome tidings, that with the aſſiſtance of Colonel Gunter, who lived in Suſſex, they had engaged a ſloop at Brighthelmſtone, a little fiſhing town in Suſſex. Thither Dr. Hinchman was appointed to conduct the king, who walked off alone and unobſerved from Haile, and met him at Stonehenge; and, proceeding from thence to the place where Colonel Philips waited for them, they rode to a houſe in Suſſex near the ſea. The bark was ſeen under ſail the next morning; the king and Lord Wilmot haſted on board, and to their inexpreſſible joy, found themſelves next day ſafely landed on the coaſt of Normandy.

* Still to be seen at Southwick green Nr Brighton

ANECDOTES

ANECDOTES

OF

STANISLAUS II. KING OF POLAND.

STANISLAUS, a noble Pole, was elected by the intrigues of the French party to the throne of Poland; he was a man of fine parts and undaunted courage. But no abilities nor addreſs were capable of preventing the tumults of faction in that troubled region of Poland, which, though nominally a republic, contains as many kings as nobles. Aſſaulted by the Saxons and Ruſſians, he was compelled to quit the throne. Reſtored a ſecond time to the ſame high ſtation, the oppoſing part of his countrymen, aſſiſted by the ſame powers who choſe to raiſe the elector of Saxony to this dignity, determined to expel him again from the throne, of which he

he was ſo highly deſerving. Aſſiſted tardily and feebly by the French, he was incapable of making head againſt his enemies, and was conſtrained, as his laſt hope, to take refuge in Dantzic with the Marquis de Monti, the French ambaſſador, and the faithful nobility who adhered to their monarch in his diſtreſſes.

There reduced to the greateſt extremities, after a reſolute defence, and no ſuccour to be expected from any quarter capable of ſupporting him againſt the power of his enemies, no alternative remained but to ſurrender to his foes thirſting for his deſtruction; or to attempt an eſcape which appeared almoſt, if altogether impoſſible—ſurrounded by a m erous army of his beſiegers, at a diſtance from any place of ſafety, and his perſon proſcribed, with a great reward to any man who would deliver him into the hand of his purſuers.

Unable any longer to reſiſt the attacks of the combined forces, oppoſition could now only expoſe the faithful city to be taken by ſtorm, and to ſuffer all the horrors inſeparable from ſuch a ſituation: To prevent this, a

ſurrender was determined upon; and the king, as the laſt forlorn hope, attempted, and, through the wonderful interpoſition of divine Providence, effected his eſcape beyond all human expectation.

The circumſtances are ſo ſingular, diſplay ſo much of the noble ſpirit of Staniſlaus, ſuch a ſenſe of piety and dependence upon the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and demonſtrate ſo ſtrikingly the manifeſt interpoſition of a ſuperior hand, that the account is not more entertaining in the circumſtances herein related, than inſtructive in its tendency; as teaching men, from the higheſt to the loweſt, to look up in all their diſtreſſes to him, who is able to ſave to the uttermoſt, and with whom nothing is impoſſible.

The relation comes from the pen of the royal fugitive himſelf, in a letter addreſſed to his daughter, then queen of France; and if it makes as ſenſible and agreeable impreſſions on the reader as it did on the tranſlator, he will be not only pleaſingly amuſed, but profitably taught to what refuge we may turn with hope and prayer, in every time of trouble.

MADAM,

MADAM,

I perceive it is not ſufficient to have informed you of my eſcape from Dantzic; your alarms for my ſafety, ſcarce yet ſubſiding, engaged you to deſire information of the minuteſt circumſtances of that event. I ſit down to ſatisfy your wiſhes, and diſcharge at the ſame time two obligations, which gratitude juſtly demands at my hands; the one to make you ſome ſatisfaction for the pains you have undergone on my account, the other to aſcribe to the Divine Providence, the glory of the mercy for which I feel myſelf deeply indebted; ſince from that alone have I derived ſupport, when all human help had failed me.

You will ſee this overruling power leading me as it were by the hand, watching over my ſteps, regulating and influencing the ſentiments of thoſe, whom intereſt had engaged to ſerve me as guides, and a yet greater intereſt, ever preſent to their view, would have engaged to betray me; you will obſerve it levelling all difficulties before me, even ſo far as to render me inviſible to thoſe who were

were ſent to diſcover me; in a word, you will trace it in the minuteſt circumſtances I am about to relate to you, and will aſſiſt me to bleſs that gracious Providence, the only ſource of my ſafety and of your joy.

Many perſons, and perhaps you yourſelf, I doubt not, may have blamed me for having continued ſo long in Dantzic; but when conſcience, honour, and our country, have ſuch claims upon us, how can we think of guarding againſt dangers merely perſonal? For my own part, I thought then, and I ſtill think, that on ſuch occaſions a man of principle feels it his duty to forget himſelf: Beſides, as from day to day, I was given to expect powerful ſuccours, this hope detained me. What muſt have been the conſequence of a precipitate retreat, but the immediate opening of the gates to the enemy, of a city, whoſe extreme affection for me alone engaged them to ſupport ſo deſtructive a ſiege? So that, every idea of courage and ſteadineſs apart, neceſſity forced me to ſtand firm till the expected ſuccours ſhould arrive, and in caſe of diſappointment, boldly, if needful, to periſh with ſo many brave citizens, who were

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ſacrificing themſelves for my glory, and with that numerous body of noble Poles, who had choſen to ſhare my lot, and to their lateſt gaſp demonſtrated the fidelity which they had ſworn to me.

In this reſolution therefore I perſiſted, till the baſe ſurrender of the fortreſs of Wechſelmund. This cowardly capitulation obliged the city, with my approbation, to think of treating for its own. Indeed, I myſelf firſt ſuggeſted the thing; and on that occaſion a very memorable circumſtance happened, which deſerves to be recorded.

I had named the Prince Czertorinſki, palatin of Ruſſia, and Count Poniatowſki, palatin of Mazovia, to aſſiſt on my part at all the deliberations of the magiſtrates. The day before the ſurrender I commiſſioned them both to repreſent, to that aſſembly, the reaſons which induced me to think that it ſhould be deferred no longer; I ordered them expreſly to tell theſe worthy magiſtrates, that, diſcharging them and all the inhabitants from their oaths of fidelity, I readily conſented that they ſhould provide for their own ſecurity; and penetrated with a deep ſenſibility

of

of the evidences which they had given me of their zeal and fidelity, I ſhould carry with me the tender remembrance of it to my lateſt hour.

It was the Count Poniatowſki who ſpoke, and he did it with that affection and tone of perſuaſion peculiar to himſelf: When one of the Centumvirs (a name given to certain deputies of the body of the citizens) riſing from his ſeat, and approaching to the Palatin cried out, "Ah! Sir! Are you ſincere? Are theſe the real ſentiments of the king our maſter?" "Yes, replied Poniatowſki, from his own lips I received the meſſage, which I have the honour to deliver." "What, then, (ſaid the Centumvir,) does the king himſelf exhort us to ſubmit to the law of the conqueror?" The Palatin again aſſured him, that it was even ſo. "Good God! then, cried this man, our king is leaving us! What will become of him?" At that inſtant, he ſtaggered—he ſtammered—his ſpeech failed him, and he fell dead at the feet of Poniatowſki.

I was the more deeply affected with this melancholy ſcene, as my heart was now open

to

to the impreſſion of grief. It is in the time of our own afflictions that we feel with deepeſt ſenſibility the miſeries of others.

I have already mentioned that the city was from neceſſity determined to capitulate: Seeing it therefore ready to paſs under the power of another maſter, and that I was no longer called upon to ſacrifice myſelf in its defence, I determined to attempt my eſcape. To this, alſo, I was earneſtly urged by the nobility who adhered to me, and who placed ſtill in my ſafety all hope of their own and of the reſtoration of the republic. My enemies themſelves compelled me to this ſtep, making it the firſt article of capitulation, that I ſhould be delivered into their hands. The loſs of my liberty was among the leaſt of the miſeries I had reaſon to expect from them; but it was ſufficient to put the finiſhing ſtroke to thoſe of my country, for which no reſource remained ſhould I fall into the hands of my enemies.

On this occaſion I experienced more than ever the zeal of thoſe who were attached to me; every one formed projects to ſecure my retreat: Among the reſt, a noble Poliſh lady

lady, who ſpoke the German language, and could command a perſon of approved fidelity, perfectly acquainted with the country, offered to partake the riſks of my journey, and diſguiſing herſelf as a peaſants wife, make me paſs for her huſband.

Another expedient was propoſed---it was to put myſelf at the head of one hundred reſolute men, and pierce through the enemy. To procure ſuch I had no difficulty, enough would have eſteemed it their glory to be thus employed; but the project, however flattering to my ideas, appeared however impracticable in the execution; both on account of the inundation, which ſpread on one ſide three leagues round the city, and on the other the lines of circumvallation ſhut up every paſſage ſo wide and deep, that no horſe could poſſibly clear them. To give hope for the exerciſe of courage, there muſt be a way open, and here hazard itſelf furniſhed none.

I determined at laſt to adhere to the ſcheme ſuggeſted by the Marquis de Monti, the French Ambaſſador, as the moſt practicable; and on Sunday the 27th of June, under preſence of paſſing a quiet night, by removing

ing farther from the bombs, which began anew to fall thick in the quarter where I lodged, I went to his houſe, and at ten o'clock at night, diſguiſed as a peaſant, I quitted his hotel and the city*.

The

* The following particulars are added from a letter of the ſecretary of the marquis of Monti, concerning the manner of the king's coming to the ambaſſador, in order to prepare for his departure, and the ſtratagem neceſſary to remove, his ordinary guard, without giving any ſuſpicion of what was in agitation.

" On Sunday morning I went to the king, whoſe departure was reſolved. It had been agreed between his majeſty and the marquis, that the king ſhould deſire the ambaſſador to come to him in the afternoon, to confer with him on the propoſitions made to the deputies the preceding evening, by the marſhal Munich; and that the marquis, pretending a fall which had grazed one of his legs, ſhould ſend back a meſſage that he was exceeding ſorry at being diſabled from waiting upon his majeſty, and begged him to communicate to me what had paſſed, and I ſhould bring back an account of his opinion on the ſubject; or if the king pleaſed, he might ſend one of his own nobles to the ambaſſador, to receive

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The Marquis of Monti, whom I have had opportunity of knowing thoroughly, is one of

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and report his advice. Theſe meſſages took up from four till about eight o'clock. When we were at ſupper, we were informed that the king was coming to our houſe by way of the garden: I ran to meet his majeſty; he ſaid he would take a turn in the garden whilſt the ambaſſador finiſhed his ſupper. You may ſuppoſe the ſupper was not long. I waited upon the king, who returned with the marquis, Count Oſſolinſki, his grand treaſurer, and myſelf. The time was precious; no moment was to be loſt. The marquis made a ſign to the king to diſmiſs the grand treaſurer; who retired upon the king's ſaying, he ſhould ſpend the night with the ambaſſador; and gave orders, at the ſame time, to bring thither his neceſſaries. This was concerted to amuſe the public; for had the king gone from his houſe with expreſs purpoſe to ſleep elſewhere, his guard would have followed him, and the ſcheme have failed. We now remained alone, the king, the ambaſſador, and I. His majeſty then wrote the two letters which follow; the one to the primate of Poland, the other to the city of Dantzic: After which, undreſſing himſelf, I aſſiſted to put on his peaſant's clothes, prepared for this diſtreſſing ſcene. He had

of thoſe men, the moſt capable of diſcharging with glory the miniſtry, with which France

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bound to his arm the queen's picture, which the ambaſſador intreated him to leave behind, but he would not; he took with him alſo, in ſpite of the ambaſſador's diſſuaſion, the book of the leſſer office of the Holy Ghoſt. When he had quitted the ambaſſador, I conducted him through our garden into one adjoining, where was the tent of General Steinflicht. The gardens were contiguous. That morning the general having repreſented to the ambaſſador that, having ſuch frequent calls of buſineſs with him, it was inconvenient to go round by the ſtreet, and that a much eaſier communication might be made by removing only two or three planks, which ſeparated the gardens from each other, which was done at his requeſt; but the real purpoſe was only that the king might paſs to the general's tent without being ſeen, which he could not have avoided, had he gone through the ſtreet, as he muſt have been known by the domeſtics, who, during the night, or a great part of it, were before the door. The king leaned on my hand, and, on entering the tent, did me the honour to embrace me, and to ſay, "Adieu my dear friend, pray for me!" Theſe words, ſpoken by ſo great a prince, in a ſituation ſo afflictive, ſo dangerous,

France hath entruſted him. Fertile in expedients and reſources, he is always ſure in the

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ous, and ſo little deſerved, made an impreſſion on me that I feel at this moment.

TO MY DEAR PRIMATE AND NOBLE POLES.

THE grief which I feel in this ſeparation from you, my dear and faithful friends, ſpeaks a language to your hearts that will make you abundantly comprehend all I feel at this cruel moment. The reſolution, to which I am neceſſitated, is founded alone on the inutility of ſacrificing myſelf, as you have yourſelves determined. I embrace you all moſt tenderly, beginning with my worthy primate; and I conjure you, by yourſelves, and by every thing that is moſt dear to me, to continue more united than ever, to ſupport, as far as is poſſible, the intereſts of that dear country, which depends on you alone as her ſole ſupport. The tears which blot my paper compel me to conclude. Read, in my inmoſt ſoul, the deep ſenſibility which your love for me hath kindled, and engraven in characters never to be effaced.

I am, in heart and ſoul,

STANISLAUS, your King.

the choice of the means. Preſumption never leads him into negligence, where the matter ſeems eaſy; nor does diffidence leſſen his courage to grapple with difficulties. A genius ſuperior, and, at the ſame time, ſimple, he knows, without artifice, how to unite that candour which engages confidence, with all the addreſs neceſſary for a politician.

One of the things which moſt embarraſſed him, aroſe from a part, and that the leaſt, of my new attire. The deſign of my retreat, ſo well concerted in every thing beſide, had

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ADVICE TO MY GOOD CITY OF DANTZIC.

I AM departing, unable longer to abide with you, and to enjoy teſtimonies of love and fidelity, beyond example, great. With the deepeſt regret of your ſufferings, I carry with me thoſe reſentments of gratitude which I owe you, and of which, at all times, by every means in my power, I ſhall deſire to give you the moſt convincing proofs. Earneſtly do I wiſh you all the felicity you deſerve: This will alleviate the grief I feel in tearing myſelf from your arms. I am, and always, and in every place, ſhall continue,

Your moſt affectionate king,

STANISLAUS.

nearly

nearly failed through this one particular. And we learned (which is indeed frequently the caſe) that the greateſt projects ſometimes miſcarry by the mereſt trifles.

A coat threadbare, ſuch as became the part I was about to play, a coarſe linen ſhirt, a cap of the plaineſt kind, a thorn ſtaff, knotty and rough, with a ſtring of leather run through it, were all ready; only boots, to fit me, were wanting, that I might perfectly reſemble the peaſants of that diſtrict, who always wear them. The ambaſſador, who did not venture to get new ones, which might be eaſily had, attentively viewed for two days the legs of every officer of the garriſon who came to pay their court to me; for, during the ſiege, I gave them free permiſſion to appear in my preſence booted. A French officer's boots appeared to him pretty exactly as large, and as ſufficiently worn as he wiſhed; but he did not dare to aſk for them. What would have been thought of ſuch a requeſt? and, in my ſituation, it might have led to the diſcovery of my deſign. The marquis therefore reſolved, by one of his domeſtics, to corrupt the fidelity of the officer's ſervant, who ſtole the boots, and ſold them

to him. But an hour before my departure were they brought thither: This important theft, which had required the negociation of an ambaſſador, could not have been executed before. But lo! juſt ready to ſtart, I found it impracticable to draw them on; how to procure others was an arduous queſtion. The time was urgent—already half an hour after nine; I muſt be going without delay; neceſſary precaution required that I ſhould travel only under favour of the night, and the day began to break at two o'clock in the morning. Great was the embarraſſment of the ambaſſador; when, unexpectedly, amidſt the ſilence and ſecreſy obſerved in his houſe, at a time when he feared that the ſmalleſt order he could iſſue, might lead to a ſuſpicion of my retreat, immediately—under our hands—and nobody knows how—he found a pair of boots, belonging to one of his ſervants, that ſeemed to have been made purpoſely for me. This happy adventure revived his drooping heart; and I reproached him ſportively for having ſo long meditated the commiſſion of a crime, to procure from afar what he could ſo eaſily have found at home.

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All my equipment being now complete, I went down the back ſtairs of the ambaſſador's houſe; but had deſcended only a few ſteps, when the idea ſtruck me of returning a moment to cheer him up againſt the fears he entertained on my account, and to wipe away the tears I ſaw him ſhed at my departure. I went up and knocked gently at the door, which he had ſhut after me. I found him proſtrate on the floor, and in fervent prayer, crying to the Lord for me, that he would be my gracious guide in a journey ſo dangerous as that I was entering upon. He did not hear my firſt taps, but on repeating them, he roſe and opened the door. "What, Sire," cried he, "is the matter? after all my care, have I forgotten any thing which your majeſty can yet want?" "Yes, Sir," ſaid I, with as ſerious an air as poſſible, "a very important and moſt neceſſary thing is forgotten. You have not conſidered that I muſt take with me my blue ribbond. Is it proper that on ſuch an occaſion as this I ſhould neglect to put it on?" Aſſuming immediately my uſual gaiety, and a tone of voice that breathed friendſhip, "I come,"

ſaid I, "anew to embrace you, my dear marquis, and to intreat you to reſign yourſelf, as I do, to that Providence, to whoſe gracious diſpoſition I entirely commit myſelf."

Immediately I went down ſtairs again, and found, at a few ſteps diſtance from the houſe, General Steinflicht waiting for me in a ſimilar peaſant's diſguiſe. With him I went to join the major of the place, a Swede by birth, who had engaged to favour my retreat, and had appointed us to meet him at a certain ſpot on the ramparts. Below were two little cobles deſigned for us to paſs the ditch; they were guarded by three men appointed to conduct us into the ſtates of Pruſſia; for theſe, of all places in the neighbourhood, were the neareſt, and moſt ſure to protect me from the inſults of my enemies.

The major, leaving the boat, advanced a few paces before us to procure a paſſage by an out-poſt, guarded by a ſerjeant and picquet of the garriſon. Scarce had I loſt ſight of the major before I heard the ſound of words exchanged with much haſte and anger. I ran forward at the noiſe, and, being within diſ-

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tance to diſtinguiſh objects, I ſaw the ſerjeant with his piece cocked and preſented, threatening to fire if the major did not retire immediately. Twice the major, who had foreſeen the difficulty, layed his hand upon his pocket piſtol, with which he had furniſhed himſelf for whatever might happen. He had nearly reſolved to rid himſelf of the fellow, whom he could not perſuade to let him paſs; but reflecting, as a wiſe man, that he ſhould gain nothing by his death, as the ſoldiers, equally exact in obedience to the watchword of their commander, would not fail to avenge the fate of their officer, he kept ſilence a moment, and reſolved to communicate to the ſerjeant the cauſe of his being there. The ſerjeant demanded to ſee and ſpeak to me. I went up to him during the parley: He examined me attentively; and, inſtantly knowing me, though it was quite the duſk of the evening, he made me a very low bow, and bid the guard let me paſs.

This firſt adventure was but a melancholy omen for my future journey: I could hardly ſuppoſe that the ſecret could long continue ſuch in the hands to which we had entruſted

it. I was miſtaken however. But my adorable Protector, who diſpoſed, according to his own pleaſure, of thoſe who were neceſſary for the execution of my deſign, left me a prey to my fears, to make me more deeply ſenſible in the iſſue of the efficacy and importance of his aſſiſtance.

I now ſent back the major, and, embarking again into our little boat, we rowed acroſs the lands that had been layed under water, hoping quickly to gain the Viſtula, and, at break of day, to be on the other ſide of that river, and advanced beyond the poſts of the enemy. But how great was my aſtoniſhment when, after rowing about a quarter of a league, my conductors carried me to the door of a wretched cottage ſituated in the midſt of the moraſs! Pretending that it was too late to attempt the paſſage of the river, they told me, I muſt there wait, and paſs the reſt of the night and the next day in that place.

In vain I repreſented to them the riſk to which I was expoſed in ſuch a ſhelter, in full view of my enemies, and the loſs of time ſo precious, and neceſſary to be employed in my

eſcape

eſcape. Their determination was fixed; and, perhaps, not to be wanting in the part of equality which they were to play with me in public, in order the better to conceal my perſon and rank, they held a *tete a tete* converſation with me, to repeat again their deſign. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that they behaved themſelves well, and made no bad uſe of the permiſſion which they had, to treat me as one of their fellows.

What could I do with ſuch beings, whom the leaſt contradiction might irritate? My deſtiny was in their hands; and I e'en ſurrendered myſelf up to it. Quitting the boat, I entered the houſe with an air of as much confidence as if it had been a fortreſs capable of reſiſting the united efforts of the Saxons and the Muſcovites.

This hut conſiſted only of one room, where I could not find a corner to repoſe myſelf; but I was not ſolicitous for repoſe, and if I had, I ſhould have ſought it in vain. To beguile my diſquietude, and the frightful wearineſs of the long hours I muſt paſs in that place, I attempted to contract ſome acquaintance with my illuſtrious companions;

a fourth had joined us on the ramparts of the city, though I had been told my conductors would be no more than three. I was content therefore to find out who this perſon might be as well as the others.

The chief of my troop appeared to be a fellow half mad, who, with a vaſt ſhare of ſelf-ſufficiency, joined an equal proportion of levity. I found by experience afterwards, that I was not miſtaken in my judgment. You would have ſmiled to have ſeen him with the greateſt ſerioufneſs aſſume an air of authority, and a tone of voice elevated and deciſive: He ſuffered no reaſoning after he had ſpoken; the leaſt reply was regarded as a kind of rebellion againſt his dignity. I could have readily amuſed myſelf with the ſingularity of a character, which might be perfectly compatible with probity, if I had not reflected that abſurdity is ſometimes more injurious than malice itſelf; and if, amidſt his brutiſh petulance, I had not diſcovered him to be the leaſt capable of all his ſpecies to conduct me ſafely. To hear him talk, you would have ſuppoſed that he defied every danger which I could encounter; when, unhappily,

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he was not at all informed of any of the poſts occupied by the enemy. The hope of a conſiderable reward had engaged him to give himſelf out as much more intelligent than he really was; and the ambaſſador, who had but a moment to determine, had no time to fathom his capacity, and gain a thorough knowledge of his abilities. Beſides the neceſſity of ſecreſy required that he ſhould employ the firſt men, with apparent intelligence of the country, who offered; if theſe were rejected, to procure others might have been as dangerous as uſeleſs. The conſequence juſtified the choice, which the ambaſſador had made; and it is not now a time to diſcuſs, whether he ought to have believed the chief of my conductors ſo able a man as he pretended to be, and to have made no difficulty of entruſting me to his care.

The ſupernumerary of our company yet gave me ſtill more uneaſineſs. I aſked him, who he was? He had not the complaiſance to let me ſuppoſe I was unknown to him; but, with a tone of voice, as ingenuous as reſpectful, he informed me, that an act of bankruptcy had

had obliged him to fly his country: He added, that my conductor had promiſed to convey him into Pruſſia, where he hoped to be ſheltered from the purſuit of his creditors.

A bankrupt! ſaid I within myſelf—a ruined merchant, who can have no inducement to keep my ſecret, and muſt know that, by delivering me up to my enemies, he may receive, at a ſtroke, not only a ſufficiency to repair his loſſes, but to procure ſuch affluence as will render all future trade or labour unneceſſary! What a companion for my journey!

I took care, however, that none of my fears ſhould tranſpire. Suſpicion has often made a traitor, and more frequently the appearance of confidence ſtifled the deſigns of the treacherous; but indeed with this worthy man the precaution was unneceſſary. His zeal for me inſpired him with ſentiments, which, could I have ſeen the bottom of his heart, muſt have given me the moſt perfect ſatisfaction.

The two others were, what are called in Germany, Snapans; men, much better informed of all the roads of that country than the

the firſt; but if nature had ever kindled in them one ſpark of honour, it was impoſſible to perceive it amidſt the brutality of their inſtinct and the ferocity of their manners.

I paſſed the remainder of the night ſtretched upon a bench, my head supported by the merchant, who was the person to whom I could moſt eaſily ſpeak, as he perfectly underſtood the Poliſh language.

Monday morning, the 28th, I walked out of my chamber, and fixed my eager eyes on Dantzic, which the enemy continued to bombard. My bowels, long yearning over that unfortunate city, were yet more tenderly moved at that point of view from which I beheld it. There, ſaid I within myſelf, there is the reward of her fidelity; perhaps this very day, ſhe falls into the hands of her enemies, and muſt ranſom herſelf from the misfortunes ſhe is no longer able to ſupport, by new ſufferings that will fill up the meaſure of her miſery.

The wretched fate of the friends I had left there, ready to be compelled, by the drawn ſword, to declare themſelves againſt me, penetrated by heart with ſuch pangs of exqui-

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ſite grief, that I was ready to ſink under the load. In vain I attempted to recover my uſual fortitude; it had forſaken me: I was no longer the ſame man—inſenſible to vexation, and familiarized to misfortune. Happily the tears, which ſtood in my eyes, hid from me an object ſo affecting; and, coming a little to myſelf, I lifted up my hands to heaven, and prayed that God would not abandon me in that ſtate of languor and feebleneſs which I had no more power to reſiſt.

I was entering into the hut, when ſuddenly I heard a general diſcharge from all the batteries of the camp and the fleet of the enemy. I immediately ſuppoſed this was a rejoicing for the reſolution taken by the city to ſurrender, which was to have been announced to Count Munich, the Muſcovite general, the preceding evening. My heart felt bitterneſs inexpreſſible. Leſs affected with my own dangers than by the misfortunes denounced in theſe marks of joy to my country, and of which they were as the ſignal, I ſtood for a while motionleſs, and deprived of all ſenſation. General Steinflicht uſed every effort to bring me to myſelf; he had been preparing

ing my dinner, not indeed, as you may ſuppoſe, ſuch a one as would excite appetite, but ſufficient to ſatisfy hunger, if grief and vexation had not blunted all the cravings of nature.

I ought in this place to tell you what I have lately learned, that on this day and hour the Poliſh nobles came to the ambaſſador, where they ſuppoſed I had paſſed the night. Not ſeeing me, they imagined I might be indiſpoſed, as it had been my cuſtom to riſe very early. The ambaſſador continued to ſay, that I had not ſlept till very late, and, to continue the impoſition, he begged them to make as little noiſe as poſſible in the apartments. He was ſpeaking to them in this way, when he heard the vaſt diſcharge of artillery which I have juſt above mentioned. His whole mind being then engaged on my eſcape, he immediately was ſtruck with this expreſſion of rejoicing, as being on account of the loſs of my liberty, and, by an emotion that he had no power to reſtrain, cried out "My God! then the king is taken!" Theſe words, that a moment after he would not, for the world, have uttered, revealed the ſecret repoſed in him alone.

alone. I was not, however, then more than a quarter of a league diſtant from the city, and unhappily yet within his ſight, and, as it were, under the talons of my enemies.

I can never enough praiſe the general prudence of that miniſter, who, with the art of penetrating into the hearts of others, kept his own always inſcrutable; but this is a leſſon for perſons of his character, to be more on their guard againſt the vivacity of their temper, or, rather againſt ſuch an eruption of zeal: For at bottom aſſuredly this was no other. From whatever courſe, however, the fault aroſe, a fault it certainly was; and in conſequence, within a few minutes after, the report of my eſcape was ſpread through all the city, and reached the camp of the Ruſſians and Saxons.

The people of Dantzic were greatly alarmed at this diſcharge of muſquetry and artillery: Thoſe who were acquainted with the nature of military rejoicings knew this was of that kind; but they were but a few, and ignorant of the preſent cauſe. Some conjectured that it was on account of a victory gained by the Imperialiſts over the French and their allies

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in Italy; others that the Ruſſians were accuſtomed to celebrate the anniverſary of the battle of Pultowa, which fell on that day; ſome that the feaſt of St. Peter, which was on the morrow might have occaſioned it; or, perhaps, that the elector of Saxony, who had been long expected, was arrived in the camp of the Muſcovites: But the populace thought very differently; they imagined that a general aſſault of the Ruſſians and Saxons was commenced. Under this idea the conſternation became general; the women, wringing their hands, their hair diſhevelled, with cries of terror and diſmay, ran about the ſtreets; the men in deſpair heightening the dangers they dreaded, though they knew not where; uncertain whether they ſhould make a laſt effort to repulſe the enemy, or wait to ſee them glut their rage and fury in the houſes and public places of the city, putting every creature to the ſword. The magiſtrates, who had juſt aſſembled to deliberate on an anſwer to the propoſitions of Count Munich, were as much ſurprized as the populace. They diſpatched perſons every way to report if the Ruſſians really were making

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any movements; and it was only after the third ſalvo, that the deputies returned from the camp, entered the aſſembly, and informed them, that having announced to General Munich their diſpoſition to acknowledge the Elector of Saxony as King of Poland, that general had replied, theſe were tidings ſo agreeable, that he ſhould immediately expreſs it by a general rejoicing through the whole camp. The emotion this excited in the city, might well excuſe the ambaſſador's ſurpriſe, who was no more informed than the magiſtrates of the motive of this extraordinary diſcharge.

But what diſtreſſing fears muſt I not have undergone, had I then known this almoſt inevitable exclamation of the ambaſſador! and I might very probably have been informed of it almoſt immediately, by the arrival of another Snapan, who landed at our cabin door with his little boat. He came to bring general Steinflicht two dry tongues, and a very polite note, containing the warmeſt wiſhes for the happy ſucceſs of our journey. This meſſage ſo unexpected, exceedingly puzzled us. The note was anonymous; and

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we have never from that day to this been able to learn from whom it came, nor how he that brought it, could poſſibly diſcover the place of our retreat. We interrogated him in vain; he returned maſter of his own ſecret, but left us in mortal diſquietude, apprehending fully that our's was diſcovered.

I have ſaid before, and, I think, I can never enough repeat it, that God permitted theſe ominous events, or cauſed them to ariſe on purpoſe to engage my heart to expect from himſelf alone that ſecurity which was the great object of my hopes.

The remainder of that day I paſſed in an impatience to ſee it cloſe, which can better be conceived than deſcribed. At laſt the long looked-for night came, and we embarked again. Our rout was now infinitely more laborious than it had been in our paſſage from Dantzic. Thick reeds every-where reſiſted the way of the boat; and when they bent, it was with ſuch a whiſtling noiſe as might be heard a great way off, and diſcover our courſe: Their very bending marked our way, and left us in fear, that the following day the track of our paſſage would appear. Often-

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times we were obliged to get out of the boat, and, deep ſunk in the mire, to draw it along by force of arms, in order to gain ſufficient depth of water. About midnight we arrived at the cauſeway of a river, which I ſuppoſed to be the Viſtula. My conductors hereupon held a council among themſelves, to which neither I nor Steinflicht were admitted. The reſult was, that their chief with Steinflicht and the bankrupt ſhould mount the cauſeway on foot, whilſt I with the other two Snapans reimbarked to coaſt the ſide of the cauſeway through the marſh. All aſſured me that we ſhould ſoon meet again; and I ſubmitted to their deciſion without having, however, a perfect confidence in their promiſes. I could not behold this ſeparation without grief of heart; and, would to God! I had hearkened to I know not what preſentiment, that in our future journey I ſhould ſee Steinflicht no more.

The opinion I had entertained that we had gained the Viſtula, made me think till then that this was the ſpot where we ſhould croſs the river; but it was the Nering, which information ſomewhat conſoled me for the abſence

abſence of the general. I felt myſelf pleaſed with him for going himſelf to diſcover the ſureſt way to be taken, in order to arrive at the ſo much deſired Viſtula.

I continued however to aſk my Snapans where and at what time we were likely to rejoin him. "There he is," ſaid they, "look juſt before us; we cannot loſe ſight of him, we never quit the cauſeway where he walks." They did quit it, however, with what intention I know not, nor did I perceive it till it was too late to continue our voyage; and the day beginning to break, admoniſhed us to ſeek ſome covert where we might be concealed from thoſe who wiſhed to diſcover us, and probably were already in the purſuit.

Our difficulty was to find a place proper to hide me. As my conductors knew that almoſt all the houſes thereabout were full of Ruſſians and Coſſacks, we had no choice but to fix upon one, where, in caſe of need, either for money or from friendſhip, we could moſt likely ſecure an aſylum.

They recollected that in the neighbourhood there lived a man of their acquaintance; we accordingly landed at his door. He was a pea-

a peaſant whoſe whole houſe was little better than the hut we had left the preceding evening. "Have you any Muſcovites here," ſaid one of my conductors? "None at preſent" replied the man; "but if you have any buſineſs with them, you will ſee enough in the courſe of the day." Our reſolution was taken. Of all the evils that ſurround us, we judged this the leaſt. So, though with regret indeed, there we fixed our quarters.

Meantime that I might not be known of the peaſant, with whoſe ſentiments we were wholly unacquainted, the two Snapans, without giving him time to examine or diſcourſe with me, as no doubt he would have otherwiſe done, carried me up aloft into a little chamber, the only one of the houſe. They offered me a bottle of ſtraw, that by accident they found there, and begged me to take a nap while one kept centinel below, and the other went further into the country to look for the general, whom I importunately inquired after.

I had not cloſed my eyes for two nights; I endeavoured to get ſome ſleep, but could not; my boots were full of mud and water;

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The loſs of Steinflicht—the ſeeming intentional departure of my conductors from the rout which they had agreed to follow—the dangers I ran in the place to which they had carried me—what, thought I, can all this mean? A thouſand melancholy ideas crouded upon my mind, and deprived me of the repoſe which I might have hoped for, being worn down as I was with fatigue. Naturally this ſhould have at leaſt rendered my faculties torpid, and, for a time, made me loſe the ſenſibility of my ſufferings.

Unable to ſleep, I roſe, and, putting my head to the bars of the granary window, I ſaw a Ruſſian officer walking ſlowly up and down the adjoining meadow, and two ſoldiers feeding their horſes. This ſight ſeized on my imagination. The thoughtful air of the officer, who ſeemed meditating ſome deſign—the horſes, to which he every now and then walked up, as if impatient to make uſe of them—the ſoldiers with their arms—their ſtay in a place ſo diſtant from their camp—all conſpired to make me apprehend that I was fallen into the ſnare which I had taken ſo much care to avoid.

There is ſomething more precious than even courage itſelf—I mean, hope, which ſupports and often inſpires it; and this had now nearly failed me. My fright was yet wrought up to a higher pitch, when I ſaw only at a hundred yards diſtance ſeveral Coſſacks coming on full gallop acroſs the field; and up to this wretched ſhelter they poſted, where I had flattered myſelf with greater ſecurity, than I could elſewhere find. I replaced myſelf inſtantly on the bottle of ſtraw, and bethought me only, how I could poſſibly eſcape from the reſearches of this troop which ſurrounded me.

I imagined I ſaw the houſe inveſted—that without amuſing themſelves to blockade the cabin, they had entered triumphant, and now I heard their footſteps aſcending into my granary——It was my hoſteſs, deputed, by my conductors, to inform me of the gueſts below, and to beg me not to make the leaſt noiſe. The counſel was good, and I had already taken it. But theſe dreaded Coſſacks, who, I thought, had their orders to purſue me, had merely come to the houſe to refreſh themſelves; there they had made the people

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furniſh them with a breakfaſt, and halted upwards of two hours.

From my miſerable loft I heard diſtinctly their diſcourſe, containing infamous recitals, in which one vied with the other in iniquities, the leaſt frightful of which, were only worthy fellows of their ſtamp, deſtitute of all honour and all religion. The ſiege of Dantzic was not forgotten any more than their exploits in Poland, the very report of which filled me with equal horror and pity.

No ſooner were they galloped off, then up again comes my hoſteſs. "Well, they are gone at laſt," ſays ſhe, "but, prithee, tell me, why you ſo carefully ſhunned meeting them? Why did not you come down, and drink, and be jolly with them and your comrades? Pray who are you, and whence come you? I know, by your tongue, you are not one of this country-folk; and then your look ſpeaks ſomething that gives the lie to the coat you carry. Speak out; explain yourſelf; I will not betray you. Your manner deeply affects me; and I feel myſelf engaged to render you every ſervice in my power."

To ſo preſſing a diſcourſe I knew hardly what to reply. My natural ingenuouſneſs of temper was ready twenty times to let looſe my tongue; but I felt it too dangerous to leave her the miſtreſs of my deſtiny. I therefore thought it prudent to acquieſce in all the ſuſpicions of this inquiſitive woman, none of which indeed approached the truth, and pretended to be juſt what ſhe ſuppoſed me. Happily ſhe had not ſenſe enough to perceive the contradictions which ſhe advanced, and I complaiſantly acceded to. The very little light admitted into that garret was particularly favourable to me; as ſhe could not perceive the emotion I felt at every word. Indeed, the truth diſcovered itſelf on my countenance by the very efforts I made to conceal it.

Eſcaped from her queſtions, I could not ſo eaſily eſcape from her fears. "But," ſays ſhe, "if you and the Muſcovites are at variance, I wiſh you well gone from us; for ſhould they diſcover you here, I am undone; perhaps they will come, and burn my poor houſe about my ears." She was on the very point

point of turning me out of doors, if I had not contrived to perſuade her, that ſhe had nothing to fear; but it was a good while before I could perfectly pacify her: At laſt ſhe went down ſtairs, and left me once more to myſelf.

Fearing that more Muſcovites or Coſſacks might arrive, I kept me quietly all the day on my bottle of ſtraw. There I was ſheltered from their hoſtilities, but far, very far, from a ſtate of tranquillity. Oppreſſed with a croud of black ideas, which I could not diſſipate, I had the courage to combat againſt them, and, in ſpite of myſelf, the courage to dwell upon them. Our misfortunes we can always rate high; our pleaſures ſeldom come under calculation. It would be a fruitleſs attempt to give you a deſcription of my ſtate. Every man in my ſituation would, I ſuppoſe, feel all the different ſenſations which aroſe in the bottom of my heart. I experienced that kind of torment, which ſeems, of all others, moſt excruciating: The inability to act, when under the greateſt agitation of mind, and the neceſſity of waiting paſſively the approach of every thing the moſt

grievous and fatal, which could poſſibly happen to me.

Two reflections, in this extremity of diſtreſs, gave me, however, conſolation. The firſt, that God had not taken Steinflicht away from me, the only man from whom I could expect ſupport, but, to engage me to put my whole confidence in him alone: The ſecond, that it was impoſſible for me to doubt, from a circumſtance which I recollected, and am going to relate, that God did aſſuredly take a very particular care of me in the minuteſt incidents of my journey.

The ambaſſador, on my departure from Dantzic, had put into my hand two hundred ducats. Unaccuſtomed for many years to carry money about me, I could not bear the load; and, from the firſt day, intreated Steinflicht to unburthen me of them. He very much diſcouraged that propoſal, making me ſenſible of the importance of the aſſiſtance which this money might afford me, and intreating me very ſeriouſly not to give it up. I entered into his reaſons; yet the moment after, feeling the inconvenience of the gold which ſwagged in my pocket, I renewed my intreaty,

intreaty, which always drew freſh refuſals. To terminate the difference, it was agreed, that Steinflicht ſhould take one half of the money, and I keep the other; and this is the happy circumſtance which Providence had ordered for me, and of which I would take notice. Indeed, alone, and left wholly to myſelf, as I then was (for I counted little upon my companions) what could I have done, if I had not wherewithal to purchaſe in the road, which was yet before me, ſuch things as were neceſſary to render it ſupportable to me, or the ſilence of ſuch perſons as might make my journey more ſecure?

Weary of my ſituation, as the day declined, I came down to have a little diſcourſe with my conductors. They ſaid, they knew that General Steinflicht was but at a quarter of a league's diſtance, and that he intended joining us, at night, on the ſpot near the Viſtula, which had been agreed upon, and where there was a boat ready to tranſport us to the other ſide: But they doubted, as the wind blew a ſtorm, whether the paſſage could be attempted in a boat ſo ſmall and ill-equipped as that which they had procured. "Come

on, my lads," ſaid I, " we can face no greater dangers than a longer abode where we are preſents to us."

It became not me any more to diſtreſs thoſe fellows, who having eaten and drunk with my enemies, had preferred my ſafety to their own intereſts, and even amidſt the fumes of tobacco and ſtrong beer, capable of affecting their ſenſes, had yet courage and honour ſufficient to maintain that fidelity, which they had promiſed me. They cheerfully adopted alſo the reſolution with which I inſpired them, and as night cloſed in, we embarked on board our boat, which, after a quarter of a league's traverſe, we quitted at the end of the inundation.

We travelled on foot for ſeveral hours, almoſt continually through grounds ſoft and miry, where, ſinking up to the knees, we were obliged to give each other aſſiſtance every moment: And frequently our very efforts made us ſink deeper into that ſpongy ſoil, and put us in imminent danger of never diſengaging ourſelves from it. At laſt we gained the cauſeway of the Viſtula. One of my Snapans begged me to halt there a moment

ment with his comrade, whilſt he went forward to ſee if the boat was at the place of the river, where they had promiſed to have it ready. A full hour did we wait for him; at laſt he returned, informing us, that there was no boat to be found, and that, probably, the Muſcovites had taken it away.

Into the moraſs, which we had with ſuch difficulty traverſed, were we now compelled to return. By another rout, and after toiling a league through roads as laborious as the laſt we had paſſed, we choſe for our aſylum a houſe, where the moment I entered—I was immediately known.

"What do I ſee?" cried the hoſt, as ſoon as he perceived me? "What?" ſaid one of my conductors, "why one of my comrades? Is there any thing in him extraordinary?" "As I am a living ſoul," ſaid the man, "I am ſure I dont miſtake, it is King Staniſlaus." "Yes, my friend," ſaid I, with a countenance compoſed and ſteady, "it is I myſelf, confident, from your phyſiognomy, that you are a man of principle, and will not refuſe me the aſſiſtance, which, in the ſtate you now ſee me, I ſo greatly need."

This plain and natural acknowledgment had the beſt effect I could wiſh; nor did I judge of its fitneſs from the conſequences: Had it not ſo happily ſucceeded, I think it was the wiſeſt ſtep I could have taken in thoſe circumſtances. This was not a woman, as the preceding day, weak, fickle, talkative, whoſe curioſity raiſed juſt ſuſpicion, that from the mere itch of prating, ſhe would blab every thing ſhe knew. I inſtantly ſaw through my man: Frank, ingenuous, blunt indeed; but ſolid, rational, active, reſolute, of a character in ſhort incapable of pardoning me if I had attempted to deceive him. His manner, ſo free and determined, declared him either an enemy dangerous, if I refuſed him my confidence, or a friend ready to undertake any thing for me, if I treated him with the ſame truth and freedom with which he appeared to receive me. Not to obſerve, that, ſeaſoning my avowal with the good opinion entertained of him, I piqued him on the point of honour, and with addreſs marked out the line, in which he ſhould ſerve me on that occaſion.

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He promiſed me, that he would undertake I ſhould croſs the Viſtula; and he kept his word. Full of zeal to ſerve me, he preſently left the houſe, and went out in haſte to procure a boat, and examine both the borders of the river, to ſee, with his own eyes, where I might paſs with the leaſt danger. This was Wedneſday, the 30th of June. As it was impoſſible for me to ſleep, and experience had taught me that my imagination ſeized upon the moſt diſtreſſing and afflictive ideas, when I was left to ſilence and repoſe, I wiſhed to diſſipate them by taking a view of the country.

Though, inſtead of thoſe frightful Coſſacks which the day before had given me ſuch painful alarms, I now ſaw from the window of the garret, to which I had retired, only objects in their nature indifferent, or rather agreeable; yet I could find no amuſement in the proſpect. It is not by trying, that we are able to get rid of our anxieties. The eyes ſee nothing when the heart is incapable of accompanying them.

I was not long, however, without perceiving an object which intereſted me. The

chief of my conductors appeared with haſty ſtrides approaching the houſe where I was.

As ſoon as he entered, I aſked him where he had left General Steinflicht? "We were," ſaid he, "laſt night on the cauſeway of the Viſtula, where we had appointed to meet. We were waiting for you with the utmoſt impatience, when we diſcovered a troop of Coſſacks, coming directly up to us. Unable to make head againſt them, and having no place to conceal ourſelves, I reſolved to run for it, and, I ſuppoſe, the general and the bankrupt did the ſame."—"Ah wretch!" cried I, "why abandon Steinflicht? Could you find no pretext to cover your march and theirs?"—"His affected manners would eaſily have diſcovered him," ſaid he: "Your good company was enough to ſpoil him; he could no more paſs for a peaſant than yourſelf. There is no doubt but he is by this time in the hands of the enemy."

Ingenious at ſelf-tormenting, I caught the idea, and made it a new ſubject of vexation. I, however, endeavoured to get over it, by conſidering, that, if it was a misfortune for me to be thus abandoned, it would be a

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greater if I began to faint in my own ſpirits, and did not look into myſelf for reſources which I could find no where beſide. I ſummoned to my aid, therefore, my fortitude, and thought I was now wound up to a pitch, capable of meeting the moſt diſaſtrous event which could befal me.

I was thus reaſoning with myſelf, when, about five o'clock in the afternoon, I ſaw my hoſt arrive. He informed me, that he had found a boat with a fiſherman, where two Muſcovites lodged, but that he was of opinion not to hazard the paſſage juſt then, becauſe of the number of Coſſacks who were ſpread on every ſide, ſome feeding their horſes in the paſtures, others ſcouring the country, with orders to follow my track, and arreſt me wherever they ſhould find me. He added, that with this view they ſeized all paſſengers, well rummaged and interrogated them, demanding paſſports, or ſome of the neighbours to be reſponſible for them: And that they particularly examined thoſe who were nearly of my age, ſtature, and figure, under whatever garb, or in whatever condition they appeared.

Happily

Happily I had juſt recovered my fortitude, and was convinced that my own courage muſt henceforth be my only ſupport. But for this, the afflictive news I heard would have ſunk me into deſpair of eſcaping from my miſeries. I held therefore a council with my peaſants, and, after many reflections, it was decided, that I ſhould paſs the night and next day where I was, continuing the ſame wiſe precaution to conceal myſelf from the ſight of any perſon who might happen to come to the houſe.

The next morning, Thurſday, July 1ſt, I aſſembled my council to take their advice on the important ſubject, which I had ſo deeply at heart, the paſſage of the Viſtula. We conſidered every place where it could be attempted with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The ſentiments of my conductors were more or leſs bold, and their views more or leſs rational, according as the bottle of brandy, which paſſed from hand to hand, was more or leſs repleniſhed: This was the preſident of the aſſembly, and regulated all the deliberations. At firſt every propoſition breathed timidity—they could ſee no proſpect of being able

able to advance a ſtep farther. The hopes of all the great recompences promiſed to them diſappeared, and, in its place, priſons, tortures, gibbets roſe up tremendous to their view. A new elevation of the bottle rouſed inſenſibly their deſponding hearts; as it grew more exhauſted by frequent embraces, I perceived the moment, when they were ready to defy the whole camp of the Muſcovites, and carry me, fearleſs, through the fire of a thouſand batteries of cannon. By keeping the management of the bottle, I diſtributed it in juſt equality to every one, proportioning the doſe of courage to the animation which each ſeverally required.

Their ſpirits were now elevated to the point I wiſhed. It was about ſix o'clock, when my hoſt, more active and ſenſible than all theſe givers of advice together, arrived with joy on his countenance. He aſſured me that the Coſſacks were all retired from the neighbourhood, that the paſſage was open, and the boat ready at the ſide of the Viſtula, about a league from his houſe. With eager impatience I waited for the night to begin our journey.

My

My hoſt and I mounted on horſeback, he keeping about fifty yards before me; the three peaſants followed on foot, and were my rear-guard. Theſe grave ſenators of the preceding day were now my ſoldiers in the night: And this was the army which I had to oppoſe againſt the whole force of Saxons and Muſcovites combined againſt me. We traverſed deep mires, where my horſe, up to the knees, ſtumbled at every ſtep. On each ſide appeared the fires of ſeveral flying camps of the enemy, who were not ſo far diſtant as my hoſt had ſuppoſed. The very light which their fires caſt on the road, was a favourable circumſtance. Who could have imagined that the Ruſſians themſelves would have lighted me to facilitate my eſcape?

We were obliged to paſs near the village of Keiſmag, where the enemy had a conſiderable poſt. They had formed there the park of their artillery at the beginning of the ſiege, and made it ſince the general magazine of their proviſions. We had travelled now about half a league without meeting a creature, when my hoſt, turning back his horſe, bid me halt, whilſt he went to examine

amine a ſpot, where he feared the paſſage was not as open as he had at firſt hoped. I had not long to wait. He returned in terror to inform me, that, every place was anew full of Cuſſacks. That he had eſcaped them only, by pretending, that in returning from the army, to which he had carried proviſions, he had loſt his horſes in the paſture, and was now hunting them up. Conſternation ſeized my troop. Without conſulting me, they held a conference, wherein it was determined to return immediately by the way which they came. "That you ſhall not," ſaid I; "for once, in my turn, I will be maſter. What have you to apprehend from a handful of poltroons, who will be terrified, if we dare advance upon them? Come, my lads, take good ſticks in your hands, and, with courage, believe me, we ſhall force our way, if they do not out number us."

This diſcourſe produced no effect: But as I ſaw as great a riſk in returning, as in proceeding, "Well then," ſaid I, "if my propoſal appears too raſh, at leaſt let us ſubſtitute cunning inſtead of courage, and make uſe of the ſame trick as had ſucceeded with our hoſt,

hoſt; let us ſay we are in ſearch of ſtrayed horſes." This propoſition was no more reliſhed by them than the firſt, nor was I ſurprized at it: Fear only takes its own counſel, and unfortunately propoſes no other reſource but flight, which, far from removing, ſerves in general but to increaſe it.

"I have a better thing to propoſe," ſaid my hoſt, ſeeing with grief the impoſſibility of warming their frozen hearts, "wait here, till I go again on diſcovery; perhaps on the right or left I may find ſome byeway, and as ſafe as we wiſh it." Away he goes; and down cloſe to the ground lay my three conductors. I could not help conſidering them in this ſituation, and ſeeing them deprived, as it were, of all ſenſation, could hardly conceive that the love of life, which ought to ſtimulate us to defend it, could be capable of enervating ſo totally every faculty that ſhould be employed for its preſervation.

After a while upſtarted their chief, that intrepid, fearleſs warrior, and urged his comrades to take all to their heels. Unable longer to retain my indignation, "What, you baſe raſcals," ſaid I, "would you then abandon

abandon me?"—"Lord, Sir," cried they as in concert, "would you have us expoſe ourſelves to be hanged to procure you a ſecurity that is no longer in our power?"—"Hanged or not," ſaid I, "putting on an air of rage, it is no time now to deliberate; you have engaged to accompany me, and leave me you ſhall not till I think I can diſpenſe with your worthleſs company. Hear me, and tremble at the reſolution you oblige me to take. If your promiſes—if your oaths—if the recompences which await you—if the reſpect which you owe me—if nothing elſe can ſtop you—I will this inſtant myſelf call to theſe Coſſacks, and if I muſt periſh by your flight, I had rather periſh by my own indiſcretion, and take vengeance, at the ſame time on your perfidy."

Nothing ſhort of this reſolute deciſion could have kept with me theſe miſerable wretches. I found this the only remedy for what is eſteemed an incurable malady. For ſuch is the miſery of mean hearts, eaſily frightened, that nothing can calm their emotions of fear, but exciting a more lively ſenſation of danger. This was the only means left

left to eſcape the riſks to which the deſertion of theſe ſhameleſs fellows muſt have expoſed me, who would have made no ſcruple to ranſom themſelves at my expence, from the leaſt hazard to which they might be expoſed in their journey.

Happily my hoſt was not long ere he returned; he aſſured me the Coſſacks were retired. At that moment I ſaw theſe three poltroons upon their legs; and their chief, reſuming his ordinary air of importance, ſaid to me, with a tone of voice the more inſolent, as he had before appeared the moſt ſubmiſſive and humble, "Could you think we had an intention to quit you? all that is paſt muſt convince you of our unſhaken fidelity." —"Show it, then," ſaid I, darting at him a look of diſdain, "let me never hear another word of turning back again."

I mounted my horſe as I pronounced theſe words, and ſoon perceived the chief and his two comrades follow me at a conſiderable diſtance, pretty manifeſtly indicating their intention to run for it the firſt moment danger appeared on our rout.

I tra-

I travelled with my hoſt a good half league, at the end of which we reached the cauſeway of the Viſtula, and preſently after perceived a Muſcovite waggon with three men coming up to us, which we wiſhed to ſhun; and hid ourſelves behind a thick hedge, where we were perfectly concealed. At about a hundred yards from thence we left our horſes, and, advancing ſtill on the ſame cauſeway, we travelled about a quarter of a league on foot. "This," ſaid my hoſt, "is the ſpot deſtined for your paſſage; I muſt leave you for a moment, but let me beg the favour of you to hide yourſelves in the buſhes till I can bring you the boat."

He did not leave me long in a poſture which I did not at all reliſh. I agree that, to guard againſt ſurpriſe, concealment was now as neceſſary for me, as intrepidity would have been in any conflict that I could not avoid: But yet to ſkulk in theſe buſhes appeared to me humiliating. And the neceſſity I was under ſo frequently of hiding myſelf, was not one of the leaſt troubles I had to endure on the journey. I conſoled myſelf, however, by reflecting, that theſe efforts to

conquer

conquer myſelf, and the repugnance I experienced to ſubmit, required and ſuppoſed as much reſolution and firmneſs as the moſt determined courage. Beſides, may we not reckon it a ſpecies of courage to ſuppreſs its exertions, where they would be uſeleſs, and often dangerous to appear?

My fellows heard quicker than I the daſh of the oars: They ran to me. We immediately embarked, and made at length that joyful paſſage ſo long the object of my wiſhes, and purſued through ſo much toil and danger.

We were juſt ready to land, when, taking my hoſt apart, and thanking him, with the tendereſt affection, for all that he had done for me, I put into his hand as many ducats as mine, extended to the full ſtretch, could graſp in my pocket. It was indeed an excellent opportunity to relieve me of the weight of the gold which I had left, and was a real inconvenience to me: But I thought not merely to do a thing which would give me pleaſure, but to acquit myſelf of a debt I owed.

That worthy and virtuous peaſant, ſurprized and almoſt confounded, ſtepped back, and

and endeavoured to escape me. "You must, you must," said I, "receive this little acknowledgment; you have done nobly; I request it as a fresh service; and shall look upon it as one of the greatest proofs of your attachment to me."

As I pressed him more and more, and he redoubled his efforts to slink away from my hand, the others fancied that I had taken some offence at him, and were rising up to appease me. This movement, which he instantly perceived, obliged him to say hastily, that if, for my satisfaction, I absolutely insisted that he should receive something from me, he would accept the favour of two ducats, purely as an everlasting remembrance of the happiness which he felt of having seen and known me.

This noble disinterestedness charmed me, and the more as I had no reason to expect it from a man in his station. He took the two ducats from my hand in a manner and with a sensibility it is impossible to express, and thanked me for them as much as I should have thanked him if he had received, not merely the moderate present which I intended to make

make him, but all the ſuperior recompences with which I would gladly have rewarded the eminent ſervices he had afforded me.

At ſome hundred yards diſtance, beyond the Viſtula, we perceived a large village, which we reached about the break of day on Friday, July 2d. It was of great importance to proceed on my journey without delay. I learned that the Ruſſians had advanced poſts on that ſide of the river, and that frequently the Coſſacks came to plunder in the neighbourhood. I immediately deſired to get horſes; but it was impoſſible for me to procure them without the aſſiſtance of my peaſants; and theſe baſe raſcals imagined that they had now nothing to fear, they even did not deign to hearken to me: They bolted into the firſt inn of the village; and when I followed them a few minutes after, I found them fast asleep, crammed together all three in one wretched feather bed. During their nap, I was obliged to take the post which they ſhould have occupied; if I, like them, had chosen to repose myself. I continued to patrole round and round the house, as a kind of sentinel, to guard against any surprize of mine enemies.

Wearied

Wearied, however, with walking about, and coming back always to the same place, and more diſſatisfied to be obliged to make so long a stay uselessly there, I entered the chamber, and, gently rousing one of my peasants from his ſlumbers, I perſuaded him to go out, and hire me a vehicle of any kind, and at any price.

In about two hours back he came, ſo drunk as to be unable to ſtand without reeling. He brought with him, however, a man, who offered to lend his horſes and a waggon loaded with merchandiſe; but on condition that we ſhould lay down in ready money, with ſome perſon in the village, the value of the goods which he ſhould entruſt with us. He expreſſed his fears that the Coſſacks, more thieves than ſoldiers, would plunder them; and, in that caſe, deſired, which was but reaſonable, that the loſs ſhould not fall upon the man to whom the waggon and horſes belonged, and for which he was reſponſible.

Having no inclination to return by the way which we came, and no time to loſe where I was, inſtead of laying down a depoſit, I bethought me of buying all the baggage. It

was valued at twenty-five ducats, which I paid down with as much eagerneſs as if I was afraid he ſhould repent of his bargain, whilſt he was only expecting that I ſhould require a conſiderable abatement.

However this haſty purchaſe, made by a man who ſeemed but a peaſant not very warm in the world, excited the attention of thoſe who were paſſing by. In a little time their number increaſed prodigiouſly. They looked at me very attentively; when my drunken dog, dazzled, no doubt, with the ſight of the gold he ſaw me put into my pocket, after paying for the purchaſe, began, with an air of the greateſt inſolence, to expatiate on the value of the ſervices which he had done for me. He boaſted of his fidelity, and even of his courage; he counted up all the hazards he had run, and roundly declared he would no longer be the dupe of the ſacrifice which, for my ſake, he had made, of his time, his liberty, and even of his life, and ſwore he would know immediately what recompence I meant to make him for all my obligations to him.

Of all the dangers I had yet run, this perhaps was the greateſt. This raſcally orator, indeed, could only liſp; but he addreſſed himſelf to perſons eaſily ſtaggered, and who, in general, without being capable of real ſentiments of compaſſion, are nevertheleſs affected with the outward appearances of affliction, which ſeem to implore them. I perceived that plaintive tones of voice have an infallible effect on the populace, and the more groſs they are, the more powerfully they act upon them. I ſhould, however, have regarded with indifference the commiſeration which they ſhewed to this pretended moſt unfortunate of mortals, if, his vivacity increaſing in proportion to the compaſſion which he excited, I had not dreaded that it would lead him on to unveil the whole myſtery of the ſecret entruſted to him. I apprehended above all, that the chief of my troop, naturally inſolent enough, would have ſupported theſe unjuſt remonſtrances with new ones of his own, and, inſtigating his other comrade, whoſe virtue was equally ſuſpicious, that they would riſe up in a body againſt me. To what misfortunes might I

not have been expoſed by them, and what could I have done if my ſecret had been communicated to a croud of peaſants, whom no motive engaged to eſpouſe my intereſts? The majeſty of the throne impoſes little awe, but by the dignity and ſhow with which it is ſurrounded, and eſpecially on thoſe eyes which only pay, to the outward marks of grandeur, the homages due to the monarch.

The matter, however, turned out quite different from my apprehenſions. My chief performed an action of which I did not think him capable. He bluſtered up to the drunken dog, and with that tone of authority which he always aſſumed: "Hold your tongue, you ſcoundrel," ſaid he, "What cauſe have you to complain? Have not we taken an equal ſhare of dangers and difficulties, and do you ſee me making ſuch pretenſions as you do?" Then addreſſing himſelf to the people, "Pay no attention," ſaid he, "to this fellow, it is always his fooliſh imagination, when he is drunk, that he is the companion of kings and princes: If you hearken to him, I ſhall by and by be ſome grand body, to whom, however, he will ſhow no more reſpect

ſpect than if he thought me juſt what I am—a like poor and unfortunate peaſant with himſelf."

Theſe words turned againſt the drunken ſot the murmurs which were ready to fall upon me; all hooted him. I could not, however, help obſerving in the croud certain looks which indicated that they were not in general convinced that I was in reality the perſon I appeared to be. I own, nothing was more flattering to me; one loves to be diſcovered in our diſguiſe, and we imagine it is not ſo much the effect of other's penetration, as that there is ſomething in us which ſhines through the veil with which we wiſh to hide our dignity. But that, which in any other circumſtances might probably have given me pleaſure, in the preſent caſe was very embarraſſing.

I made all the haſte I could to leave the village, and gladly had left the drunken dog behind me, for whom I had no farther ſervice, if I had not apprehended, that in the condition he was, he would expoſe to open day the ſubject he had begun ſo inopportunely to develope. This track of light, left

behind me, might quickly ſpread itſelf around, and raiſe fearful obſtacles to the remainder of my journey. I therefore packed him up in the waggon, and, to preſerve him from falling, as he muſt have done on every jolt, I was obliged to be his ſupport and barrier. The chief of my conductors went before to guide the horſes, and the third I ſent back to the ambaſſador, with advice of my having happily paſſed the Viſtula.

We left the village without daring to inquire after any road, that in caſe of purſuit, no perſon might give information of the rout we had taken: So that we went on, without knowing whither ourſelves. I regulated our march by conjecture, knowing by the chart ſomething of the bearings of the country. As our next object was to paſs the Nogat, I endeavoured to gain the point where that river is ſeparated from the Viſtula, leaving to the left the city of Marienberg, where there was a garriſon of the enemy.

We paſſed through ſeveral villages occupied by Saxons and Muſcovites, without any perſon ſaying a word to us. Greatly as we wanted to ſtop and bait, we dared not ſet foot

foot to the ground. It was not poſſible, however, to drive our cattle farther without halting. The heat was exceſſive, and, being worked very hard, they were quite knocked up. Providentially about a hundred yards out of the road, we diſcovered a houſe that had been abandoned, and thither we retired for two hours, whilſt our horſes fed in the paſture adjoining. About eight o'clock in the evening we arrived at the borders of another river. Juſt by ſtood a public houſe, and at ſome paces diſtance an old boat drawn up on the ſand, but open in all its ſeams. "What luck," cried my fellows, "here is the Nogat, and a boat that Providence ſeems to have provided on purpoſe for our paſſage." This idea did not perfectly accord with my ſentiments, but it was highly agreeable, and I did not dare to contradict them. They had already begun to roll this half rotten boat to the river, when a peaſant came by, whom I aſked if that was the Nogat? "No, by my troth," ſaid he, "this is the Viſtula; the Nogat is a full league and half from hence."

This information could never have come more opportunely. We had been undone without reſource if we had gone back again acroſs that river, which we had taken ſuch pains to paſs. We therefore entered the public houſe, and pretended to be butchers of Marienbourg, who wanted to go over the Nogat, in order to purchaſe cattle. "The paſſage of that river is impracticable," ſaid the hoſt;" "for the Ruſſians have taken away every boat great and little, and carried them to Marienbourg, becauſe of parties of the Poles, who ſcour the country on the other ſide.

"What," ſaid I, within myſelf, "for ever obſtacles in the way, and at a time when I had ſuch a confidence I ſhould find none! As well might I have miſcarried at the firſt ſtep, and not, after all my toil and pains, finiſh, in ſome fatal accident, the deſtiny I cannot ſhun." However, the good fortune which had hitherto followed me, revived my courage, and ſerved as a pledge to my heart of the ſucceſs that Providence had yet in ſtore for me.

I paſſed that night in a barn, without the power of cloſing my eyes. Riſing at break of day, my Snapans were of opinion that we

we had no other way of croſſing the river but by the bridge of Marienbourg. "Highly am I indeed obliged to you," cried I, "What! *you* men of undaunted courage! what! *you* dare to defy a numerous garriſon of regular troops, who were as pale as death at the approach of a few undiſciplined Coſſacks, that did not deſerve the name of ſoldiers. Dont you know, that the very danger I fly, awaits me in that city, and that you muſt there find aſſuredly the chains and gibbets of which you are afraid!"

I thought I need ſay no more to engage them to abandon an advice ſo perilous. I was miſtaken. They perſiſted in it, and would oblige me to comply; nay, threatened to leave me, if I would not follow it. Whether it were folly or deſpair I dont know; but it was only after the moſt urgent entreaties, and, I may ſay, moſt earneſt ſupplications, that they would conſent to leave me maſter of my own deſtiny, and of theirs.

What I propoſed to them, was certainly moſt reaſonable. "Let us go," ſaid I, "at leaſt to the borders of the Nogat, and if we find no poſſibility of a paſſage, we will go to

Marienbourg, whatever motives ſhould deter us from taking ſo dangerous a rout."

So we again ſallied forth; at firſt we kept the cauſeway of the river, but ſhortly after drove through thick woods, and the moſt terrible roads imaginable. At a conſiderable diſtance from our laſt night's reſting place, we obſerved a village, where I judged it deſirable to get ſome information. I communicated my deſign to my conductors, who totally diſapproved of the propoſal. They had now found out that it was dangerous to inquire our road of the peaſants, from whom we had nothing to fear, and juſt before, they could ſee no riſk in preſenting themſelves before the gates of a city, which our enemies had made one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the country. So they told me again, with all the freedom imaginable, that it was uſeleſs to get information of the roads, for they were very ſure we had no other way to take than by Marienbourg.

Theſe fellows, whom I had flattered myſelf I had ſo thoroughly known, were really paſt my comprehenſion. But I had recourſe to intreaties, which had ſucceeded ſo well before.

before. My drunken ſot, whoſe blind fury was probably owing to the fumes of the preceding day's debauch, offered the firſt to go and make inquiry, and for this purpoſe went up to one of the houſes. He preſently came back to inform me that the people there ſpoke the Poliſh language, and that he could not underſtand a word they ſaid. "Lucky enough," ſaid I, "'tis a language I perfectly know: I will ſerve you with pleaſure, as your interpreter." So ſaying, I began to get down from the waggon. But this was my fellows day of contradiction. They oppoſed my coming down, fearing I ſhould diſcover myſelf by my language. I ridiculed their fears, and, in ſpite of them, ſet foot to ground. I was walking on towards the houſe, when, attempting to obſtruct my way, they ran and ſtood before me, ſwearing that they would die upon the ſpot ſooner than let me go a ſtep farther.

I could no longer hold out againſt ſuch an exceſs of impudence, but ran upon them, as if I meant to make a road over their bodies. A moment after I could not forbear laughing at my own vivacity; yet at bottom,

was

was it not rather a wiſe ebullition of reaſon, than a blind tranſport of rage? This air of determined reſolution intimidated them, and they had recourſe to other menaces. "Well then," ſaid they, opening haſtily a way for me between them, "if ſuch is your deſign to have us hanged, your ſervant, we are off." "With all my heart," ſaid I, "immediately, go, be off, as ſoon as you pleaſe, I wiſh you both a good journey."

I felt on this occaſion more than I had ever done before, how much I had to lament having to do with ſuch kind of creatures, as are never more inſolent than when they are ſenſible that one is intereſted in managing them, and muſt be under ſome fear of them. Nor can I comprehend, without the moſt abſolute neceſſity, which indeed was my caſe, how any perſon would ever venture to make them their confidents and executors of any deſign, the ſucceſs of which depends upon ſilence and ſecreſy.

I went up to the houſe, and in a tone of voice the moſt polite a peaſant could be ſuppoſed to make uſe of, not to betray my appearance, I told the hoſteſs that I wanted

much to croſs the Nogat to purchaſe ſome cattle, and begged the favour of her to point out to me where I could moſt eaſily procure a paſſage. "Upon my word" ſays ſhe "you are come juſt at the nick of time. I can ſave you the trouble of a paſſage, which is beſide at preſent a matter of no ſmall difficulty. I have ſome beaſts to diſpoſe of, and by your appearance I dare to ſay we ſhall not diſagree about the price." I pretended to be quite charmed with this intelligence; "but," ſaid I, "it is not poſſible for me to take them home with me, till my return; becauſe I have a ſum of money to receive the other ſide the river, which I ſhall gladly employ in the purchaſe of your cattle." "But," ſaid ſhe, "there is not a boat left upon the river, what will you do?" "Juſt as you pleaſe, replied I, with an air of ingenuouſneſs and confidence; I had rather be obliged to you for this ſervice, than to any other perſon; and I am ſatisfied I ſhall not diſpleaſe you by the preference I give you in this reſpect; for indeed, added I, I know the country well enough; and that as you muſt have continual occaſion of intercourſe with the other ſide of the river, I dare ſay, notwithſtanding

withſtanding all the precautions of the Muſcovites, you have ſome way of paſſing it."

"Ah," replied my hoſteſs, "I ſee you are a good fellow; well! I'll ſend my ſon with you to about a quarter of a league from hence; on the other ſide of the river there is a fiſherman, a friend of ours, who has a little boat in his houſe: On a ſignal given he will come and take you, and you cannot have a ſurer and more eaſy way of getting out of the difficulty in which I ſee you are involved." I thanked this good woman in terms the moſt affecting and tender I could employ, and went out of her houſe attended by her ſon.

I got him to go up into my waggon, and I was juſt ſetting off, when my two peaſants, of whom I had not taken the leaſt notice, made their appearance to take their places alſo.

The air of contentment which my countenance wore, and the ſight of my new conductor, had quite petrified them. Their ſervices might now be diſpenſed with. However, it was no time to reproach them; my wiſdom was to manage them a little longer.

Pro-

Probably they were now more than ever diſpoſed to betray me. A ſecret is never ſo burdenſome as when it is on the point of being no longer needful to be kept. So, without ſaying a word, I e'en left them to take their places.

Being arrived at the borders of the Nogat, the young man made the ſignal. In an inſtant the fiſherman was out of his hut, drew down with him a little boat to the river's brink, launched it, and came over to us. I went into the boat with one of my peaſants, the other I left behind with the waggon and luggage, which I could not tranſport over the river, bidding him wait for his comrade there, whom I intended to ſend back the ſame day.

No ſooner had I reached the other ſide than I lifted up my eyes and heart to heaven in thankfulneſs and gratitude for having conducted me ſafely into this land of promiſe, where at laſt I was ſafely ſheltered from all danger.

In an adjoining village, called Biata Gora, I purchaſed a new waggon and two horſes. My firſt care was now to take leave of my peaſant

peaſant conductor, and ſend him back. By him I wrote a note to the ambaſſador, containing only two words in cypher, as had previouſly been agreed between us: And immediately I proceeded alone with my waggon, and took the road to Marienwerder, a little town in the dominions of the King of Pruſſia.

How great was my ſatisfaction to be delivered from the company of my raſcally conductors, by whom I had been ſo tormented. The pleaſure which I had at being out of the reach of my enemies, was not equal to the ſenſation I felt at ſeeing no longer theſe worthleſs fellows at my ſide, againſt whom I had as great neceſſity to be on my guard as againſt my avowed purſuers.

Arrived at the gates of Marienwerder, I eaſily eſcaped the queſtions of the centinel, who aſked me who I was? I paſſed through the town ſeated on my waggon, and ſmiled more than once at the ſhabby appearance of my equipage. My entrance indeed was not magnificent; but all the grandeur of the univerſe could hardly have increaſed

increaſed the delight and joy I felt at that moment. I carried with me the juſtice of my cauſe, the love of my ſubjects, and peace in my conſcience; and I doubt not, even the eſteem of my enemies. What greater motives could I have to forget my paſt diſgraces? They only who have merited their misfortunes, or have not born up under them with reſolution and fortitude, are doomed to reflect upon them with ſorrow.

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